00054234

NOT TO BE ISSUED
OUT OF THE LIBRARY.

954.02
Mod/Par
54234

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Digitized with financial assistance from

on 16 November, 2018

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

THE

PARSEES AT THE COURT OF AKBAR

AND

54234

DASTUR MEHERJEE RÂNÂ.

4522.

TWO PAPERS

READ BY

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A.,

BEFORE

THE BOMBAY BRANCH ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

ON

19th December 1901

AND

13th July 1903.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

EXB-i. 1

Bombay:
PRINTED AT THE
BOMBAY EDUCATION SOCIETY'S PRESS, BYCULLA.

1903.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ORI
954.02
Mod/par
54234

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

WORKS BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

The Religious System of the Parsees.

Wine among the Ancient Persians.

Asto-dàn.

The River Kàrun.

The Game of Ball-Bat among the Ancient Persians, as described in the Epic of Firdousi.

The Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees, their Origin and Explanation.

Dante and Virâf, and Gârdis and Kâus.

The Persian Mâr-Nâmeh, or, The Book for the taking of Omens from Snakes.

The Bas Relief of Behrâm Gour and the Horse in Ancient Iran.

Cucullin and Conlokh, and Rustam and Sohrâb.

Charms or Amulets and a few Ancient Beliefs about the Eclipse.

Cashmere and the Ancient Persians and the Indian Game of Chess.

The Antiquity of Avestâ.

The Belief about the Future of the Soul among the Ancient Egyptians and Irânians.

Marriage Customs among the Parsees, their Comparison with similar Customs of other Nations.

Aryâdgâr-i-Zarirân Shatrôihâ-i-Airân va Afdya va Sahigîya-i-Seistan (The Memoir of Zarir, Cities of Irân and the Wonders and Marvels of Seistân).

Impressions d'un Parsi sur la Ville de Paris.

La Ceremonie du Naôjote parmi les Parsis.

Jamâspi. Pahlavi text with translations into English and Gujarati. (*In the Press.*)

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Two Avesta Amulets.

The Ancient Name of Sanjân.

An untranslated chapter of the Bundehesh.

ગુજરાતી. *In Gujarati.*

વાયુચક્ર શાસ્ત્ર. Meteorology.

જમશેદ, હોમ અને આતશ. Jamshed, Hom and Fire.

અવસ્તા જમાનાની ઘરસંસારી જીંદગી, ભૂગોળ અને એકરાર નામું. The Social Life, Geography and Articles of Faith of Avesta times.

અનાહીત અને ફરોહર. Anâhita and Farôhar.

ભવિષ્યની જીંદગી અથવા આત્માનું અમરપણું. Immortality of the Soul.

મેહેર અને જશને મેહેરંગાન. Mîthra and the Feast of Mithras.

અવસ્તાનાં વિશેષ નામોંની ફરહંગ. A Dictionary of Avestic Proper Names.

ઇરાની વિષયો. Irânian Essays, Part I.

મોત ઉપર વાએજ. A Sermon on Death.

શાહનામું અને ફીરદોશી. Shâh-nâmeh and Firdousi.

જ્ઞાન પ્રસારક વિષયો. Lectures before the Dnyân Prasârak Society.

ઇરાની વિષયો ભાગ બીજો. Irânian Essays, Part II.

જરથોશ્તી ધર્મ સંબંધી ભાષણો અને વાએજો. Lectures and Sermons on Zoroastrian subjects.

શાહનામું, મીનોચેહરના રાજ્ય સુધી (છપાયછે. *In the Press.*) Shâh-nâmeh up to the Reign of Minocheher.

ઇરાની વિષયો ભાગ ત્રીજો Irânian Essays, Part III.

બુનદેહેશ. Bundehesh.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

DEDICATED

TO

Miss MENANT

AS

A SOUVENIR

OF HER VISIT TO INDIA (1900-01)

ON A SCIENTIFIC MISSION

FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

This book contains the following two papers read before the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society :—

(1) The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherjee Rânâ (Read on 19th December 1901).

(2) Notes of Anquetil Du Perron (1755—61) on King Akbar and Dastur Meherjee Rânâ (Read on 13th July 1903).

The first paper is a reprint from the Journal (Vol. XXI. No. LVIII.) of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society. The second paper will be published in the next number of the Journal. The study of the subject treated in these papers was undertaken by me at the request of my friend, Mademoiselle Menant, during the period of her Scientific Mission to Western India in 1900-01 for the study of Parseeism in its very home. My best thanks are due to her, for suggesting to me the study of this subject, which is of some historical importance to my community, and which throws great light upon the work of a great Dastur of pious memory. Her discovery of Anquetil Du Perron's notes (*vide* the Fac-simile at the end of the book) has thrown great light upon the question. I beg to thank all those gentlemen, who have kindly put me in the proper way of studying this important subject, by placing their original old manuscripts and documents at my disposal, and by helping me generally.

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.

COLABA,
31st July 1903.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The Parsees at the Court of Akbar, and Dastur Meherji Ránâ.

Akbar, who is spoken of as the Edward I. and the Henry VIII. of his race,[1] as the Joseph II. of Hindustân,[2] and as the first Darwinian before Darwin,[3] had tried his best to unite his people in religion and government. To a certain extent, he tried to play the same part in India, as that which Ardeshir Babegân (Artaxerxes I. of the Greek historians) played in Persia and Soter or Ptolemy I. played in Egypt.

It is a little difficult to say what his new religion exactly was. It was a mixture of several elements. Prof. Blochmann calls it "monotheistic Parsi-Hinduism." (Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 212.) Comte de Noer chooses to call it a sort of Parsi-Soufi-Hinduism, of which the Irânian worship of the sun was the purest expression. He says:—

"On pourrait appeler la foi nouvelle une sorte de parsi-çoufi-hindouisme, dont le culte iranien du Soleil était l'expression la plus pure.[4]

Prof. Max-Müller says: "It is well known that the Emperor Akbar (1542—1605) had a passion for the study of religions, and that he invited to his Court, Jews, Christians, Mohammedans, Brahmans, and Zoroastrians, and had as many of their sacred books as he could get access to, translated for his own study."[5] As the latest edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica[6] says, "Scepticism as to the divine origin of the Koran led him to seek the true religion in an eclectic system. He accordingly set himself to obtain information about other religions, sent to Goa, requesting that the Portuguese missionaries there would visit him, and listened to them with intelligent attention when they came. As the result of these inquiries, he adopted the creed of pure deism and a ritual based upon the system of Zoroaster."

Captain Vans Kennedy[7] says on this subject, "Akbar, however, seems to have been aware that deism was too spiritual a system to admit of its becoming a national religion, and that it was necessary,

---

[1] A Handbook to Agra, by Keene, p. 130.

[2] L' Empereur Akbar, par le Comte F. A. De Noer. Traduit de l'Allemand, par G. Bonet Maury, Vol. I., p. 346. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid, p. 343.

[5] Introduction to the Science of Religion, p. 17. [6] Vol. I., p. 434.

[7] Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay (1820). Reprint of 1876, Vol. II., pp. 277-278.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

in order to recommend it to the people, to introduce some ceremonies and some visible mode of worship. But, anxious to divert the minds of men as little as possible from the direct contemplation of the Supreme Being, he adopted as intermediate objects of respect the sun and planets and as their representative the sacred fire. . . . . The only ceremonies which were adopted were the principal annual festivals of the Zardushtian." Further on Captain Kennedy says, "It may be supposed that the worship of the sun and of the sacred fire was borrowed from the Hindus; but it seems more probable that it was adopted from the followers of Zardusht, as Akbar not only adopted their year but also their festivals." [1]

Blochmann says, "The principles of toleration, which no king before Akbar had dared openly to confess, had even laid hold of the philologic mind of the king's subjects, and for the first time did the words of the worshippers [2] of 'the fire which Muhammad extinguished,' find a place in a dictionary, the compiler of which was, moreover, a Sayyid of the purest blood. Merely to flatter Akbar, who, though a Sufi in his heart, was a Parsee by his rites, could not have been the compiler's sole object." (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXXVII., Part I., No. I., 1868, "Contributions to Persian Lexicography," p. 14.)

Prof. Rehatsek says: "He (Akbar) had no doubt considered that outward signs would be captivating to the minds of untutored natures, and therefore he began to worship the sun as one of the greatest manifestations of the omnipotence of the Creator; he revived the ancient Zoroastrian festivals, substituted their months for those of the Hegira, and also maintained sacred fires. As the number of Parsees was too small, these matters were not introduced from political motives." [3]

[1] Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol. II., p. 285, Reprint of 1876.

[2] As an instance of Zoroastrian words used at the Court of Akbar, we may quote the following from Abul Fazl's work . . "Royalty is a light emanating from God, and a ray from the sun, the illuminator of the universe. . . . . Modern language calls this light *farr-i-izidi* (the divine light) and the tongue of antiquity called it *kiyân khwarah*" (Ain-i-Akbari, Abul Fazl's Preface, p. III., Vol. I., Blochmann). The *kiyân khwarah* referred to here is the *kavaêm kharenô* of the Avesta. The language of antiquity, referred to by him, is the ancient Pahlavi language.

[3] The Emperor Akbar's Repudiation of Esllâm, consisting of passages from the Muntakhab-Al Tawárikh of Badáoni, translated by E. Rehatsek (1866). Translator's Preface, p. II.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The Parsees of the 16th Century had an influence not only upon king Akbar, but also upon many great men of the age. Comte de Noer says on this point: "Il y avait aussi la religion des Guèbres ou Parsis, dont le centre principal était sur la côte Ouest, notamment dans le Goudjarat; c'est là qu'ils avaient transporté le feu sacré, et une partie de leurs livres saints, où était contenue la doctrine vénérable de Zarathustra . . . . Et, malgré leur petit nombre et leur peu d'importance politique, les Parsis ont exercé une influence considérable sur les plus grand esprits de l'Inde vers la fin du XVIème siécle." [1]

All these scholars then say that in his new religion Akbar was, to a certain extent, influenced by Zoroastrianism.

It appears, that Akbar's co-religionists themselves knew well his leaning towards Fire-worship. We find Abul Fazl defending his king in the 72nd Ain.[2] Speaking of Akbar's adoration of God at morning, noon, evening and midnight, when the Sun has different positions in the sky, and defending his ways of adoration, he says: "But why should I speak of the mysterious blessings of the sun, or of the transfer of his greater light to lamps? Should I not rather dwell on the perverseness of those weak-minded zealots, who, with much concern, talk of His Majesty's religion as of a deification of the Sun and the introduction of fire-worship? But I shall dismiss them with a smile."

Now, the question is: Who were the Zoroastrians that went to the Court of Akbar and influenced him, to a small or great extent, towards Zoroastrian forms of worship, ritual and festivals, as referred to above? Were they Indian Zoroastrians or Persian Zoroastrians? In a paper entitled "Akbar and the Parsees [3]" read before our Society on the 8th of August, 1896, by Mr. R. P. Karkaria, it has been attempted to shew, that it was the Persian Zoroastrians from Persia, under Ardeshir, who had an active hand in influencing king Akbar, that the Indian Zoroastrians under Dastur Meherji Rana had very little to do in the matter, and that Akbar must have called the latter to his Court only "out of curiosity." [4] This is not the

---

[1] L'Empereur Akbar, par Comte de Noer, Traduit par G. B. Maury, Vol. I., p. 23. [2] Ain-i-Akbari, by Blochmann, Vol. I., p. 155.

[3] Journal of the B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XIX., No. LIII., pp. 289-305.

[4] Ibid, p. 296.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

first time, that doubts have been raised against Dastur Meherji Rana's mission to the Court of Akbar. Unfortunately, latterly there has been a division of parties among the priesthood of Naôsâri. Some are opposed to the family of Meherji Rana and its associates. Some of them have, ere this, raised such doubts, several times, in some of the Gujarâti papers. But it was for the first time, that the question was transferred by the abovementioned paper, to the platform of this Society.

At the time when the paper was read before our Society, the question was discussed with some warmth in the Bombay papers.[1] I then took only a passive interest in the question. But at the instance of a friend, who lately came to Bombay from Europe, and who takes a great interest in the question, I have gone over the question and studied it. So, I beg to place before the Society a few facts, which lead me to a conclusion, different from the one arrived at in the above-mentioned paper. I have fortunately been able to secure some original documents and old manuscripts bearing on the question, and these I beg to produce before the Society to-day.

* I will treat the whole question under three heads. I.—Firstly, I will try to prove, that it was the Naôsâri Parsees, who influenced Akbar. II.—Secondly, I will try to prove that, it was Dastur Meherji Rana, the leader of the Naôsâri Parsees who influenced Akbar. III.—And thirdly, I will examine the objections that have been raised to these two facts. I will then give in the Appendix, copies of some of the documents referred to in this paper, with my translations and observations.*

I.

Before going into the subject of our paper, in order to have a clear grasp of all the events of king Akbar's reign, referring to this matter, I will give here a chronological table of those events. The dates of the events, referring to his reign and to the religious discussions of his Court, are given on the authority of Badâonî. Most of them are taken from Blochmann's version of the extracts from Badâonî given in his translation of the Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., pp. I.—XXXVI. 167—213. (For the comparison of Hijri years with the Christian years, *vide* ibid., p. 168, note 2. Also Elliot's History of India, Vol. V., p. 246. The Hijri year 981 began on 3rd May, 1573.)

[1] I am indebted to Mr. Kharshedji Manockjee Shastri for kindly placing at my disposal his very interesting file of extracts from papers on this subject.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Chronological Events of the Reign of Akbar.

Events.	Dates. A. D.	Hijri
Akbar born	14th October 1542	949
Mubârak, father of Abul Fazl, attached himself to the religious movement suggested by the approach of the first millenium of Islâm, when Imâm Mâhdi was to appear. (The movement had first begun in 900 Hijri.) ...	1549	956
Shaikh Alâî appeared as a Mâhdî		
Abul Fazl born[1]	14th January 1551	6th Moharram 958
Akbar ascended the throne ...	10th March 1556[2]	963
Akbar assumed the reins of government from the regent, Behrâm Khân	March 1560	
A document of the Naosari priests agreeing to perform religious ceremonies properly. Meherji Rana signs it at the top...	1566	
A document of the Naôsâri priests agreeing that they should not drink toddy when engaged in the Atash Beharâm (Fire temple). Dastur Meherji Rana signs it at the top	1570	
A document of the Naosari Parsees entrusting a piece of land to Dastur Meherji Rana	1573	
Abul Fazl received favourably at court. (Long before this he had talked with the wisest men of different religions.) He says in the Akbar-nâmeh[3]: "My mind had no rest, and my heart felt itself drawn to the sages of Mongolia, or to the hermits on Lebanon; I longed for interviews with the lamas of Thibet or with the pâdrîs of Portugal, and I would gladly sit		

[1] Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann's, Vol. I., Introd. p. 1.

[2] *Vide* Elliot, Vol. V., p. 246.

[3] Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., Introduction, p. XII.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

	Dates.	
	A. D.	Hijri
with the priests of the Pársis and the learned of the Zend Avesta.") Abul Fazl speaks, under the events of 981 Hijri, of his interviews with Mobeds. (Bengal Asiatic Society's Akbar nâmah, by Maulawi' Abd-ur-Rahim, Vol. II., p. 84)	1573	981
Badâonî introduced at the court of Akbar	1574	981
Badâonî appointed Court Imâm ...	1575	982
Commencement of the religious discussions, of which Badâonî gives an account	1576	983
The appearance of a comet (Rôz Ard 25 (Arshisang) Mâh Abân).	1577	985
Badâônî mentions the event of the coming of Naôsâri priests under the events of the year 986 Hijri.[1] They must have come some time before, because Badâôni speaks of it as a past event, آمده بودند. The Dabistân also, in the events of the year preceding Rajeb 987, speaks of the event as a past event. (آمده بودند. Bombay Lithographed Edition of 1277 Hijri, p. 266, l. 4)	1578-79	986
Abul Fazl refers to the presence of Parsees at Akbar's Court under the events of this year (Akbar-nâmeh, Calc. ed. III., pp. 252-53, Elliot VI., p. 59) ...	1578-79	
Abul Fazl brought up, at the Thursday evening meetings at court, the question that the King was the temporal as well as the spiritual head and guide of the state	1579	986
The date of the document, wherein Meherji Rana is referred to as the leader of the Naôsâri priests[2] ...	12th March 1579	
The date of the document "unique in the Church History of Islâm," which Shaikh Mubârak, in con-		

[1] Lowe's translation, p. 260. Lees and Ahmad Ali's text, p. 261.

[2] Parsee Prakash, Vol. I., p. 8., *vide* Appendix for the original document.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

	Dates.	
	A. D.	Hijri
junction with his sons Faizi and Abul Fazl had drafted, and by which Akbar was certified to be "a Mujtahid, *i.e.*, an infallible authority in all matters relating to Islâm"[1]	September 1579	Rajab 987
Mir Jamaluddin commences his new Persian dictionary, the Farhang-i-Jehangiri[2]	1579	987
The principal religious disputations at the Court, in which the Parsees were concerned, came to an end, because the unique document محضر was signed, and on the 16th (15th according to Rehatsek's translation) of the Rajab of this year, the King left for Ajmere (p. 272, l. 17, Vol. II., Lees and Ahmad Ali's Edition of Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh. Rehatsek, p. 33), and from the new Jalali year the King openly adopted Sun and Fire-worship	1579	987
Date of the second document, wherein Meherji Rana is referred to, as the leader of the Naôsâri priests[3] (Samvat 1336)	1st September 1580	
King Akbar openly began to worship the Sun and Fire from the New Jalali year[4]	1580-81	988
King Akbar established 14 holidays and adopted calendar according to the manner of the Zoroastrians (Rehatsek, p. 53).	1582	990
Abul Fazl lost his mother. Akbar personally went to console him.		

[1] Badaoni's Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh. Lees and Ahmad Ali's Edition, p. 272, l. 7, Vol. II., Rehatsek's translation p. 32. It was of this time that Abul Fazl wrote,:—"The Court became a gathering place of sages and learned of all creeds; the good doctrines of all religious systems were recognized and their defects were not allowed to obscure their good features." Blochmann's translation of Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., Introduction p. 14.

[2] Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part I., No. 1., 1868, p. 12.

[3] Parsee Prakash, Vol. I., p. 9, *vide* Appendix for the document.

[4] Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh. Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., p. 269. Lees and Ahmad Ali's Text, Vol. II., p. 261, l. 16. Blochmann's translation in Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 184. Rehatsek, p. 27.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

	Dates.	
	A. D.	Hijri
("Religious matters had in the meantime rapidly advanced. .... The Islamitic prayers were abolished at court and the worship of the 'elect' was based on that of the Pârsîs and partly on the ceremonial of the Hindûs. The new era (Târîkh i-Ilâhî) which was introduced in all Government records, as also the feasts observed by the emperor, were entirely Pârsî")[1]	1st September 1589	997
The date of a letter from Naôsâri to Div, in which Meherjee Rana is referred to as the head of the priests[2]	6th August 1590	998
Meherjee Rana died	1st November 1591	1000
Mir Jamaluddin received orders from King Akbar to complete the Dictionary (Farhang-i-Jehangiri).[3] Akbar granted sums for the purchase of manuscripts and called Ardeshir from Persia to assist Mir Jamâluddin	1592	1000
Shaikh Mubârak died	4th September 1593	1001
Date of the grant of 100 Bigâhs of land to Dastur Kaikobâd in addition to 200 granted, to his father Dastur Meherji Rana[4] ...	1595	1003
Badâônî's History ends[5]	1595-96	1004
Abul Fazl completed the Aîn-i-Akbari	1596-97	1005
The date of the letter of Ardeshir of Kermân to Kamdin Padam of Broach[6] (Roz 24 Mâh 1. 967 Yazdzardi Kadmi)	20th November 1597	1005
Abul Fazl killed by Jehangir ...	12th August 1602	4th Rajab 1011

[1] Aîn-i-Akbari, Blochmann, Vol. I., Introduction, p. XVI.

[2] Khan Bahadoor B. B. Patel's Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 9. *Vide* Appendix for a true copy. [3] Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part I., No. 1, 1868. p. 12. *Vide* below, pp. 19-20. The preface of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri.

[4] *roj* 10 *mah* 12 year 964 Yazdajardi 2nd November 1895.

[5] Elliot's History, Vol. V., p. 479. [6] Parsee Prakash, Vol. I., p. 10 gives roz 23. Mr. Manockjee R. Unwala's lithographed edition of the Revâyet, Vol. II., p. 458, l. 7. *Vide* below, p. 24. This date corresponds to 29-12-996 Shâhanshâhi.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

	Dates. A. D.	Hijri.
Akbar died ... ...13th October	1605	1014
The Dictionary called Farhang-i-Jehangiri (so called because finished in the time of Jehangir), for which Ardeshir had come to India, finished	1608	1017
The author of the Dabistân born some time about	1615	1024
The last event mentioned in the Dabistân relates to the year 1653. So the Dabistân must have been written after 1653	1653	1063

Having this chronological list of the events of Akbar's reign before us, we will now proceed to the subject of the question, as to who it was that led Akbar toward Parseeism? Were they the Zoroastrians of Persia or those of India? There are two works of history which show directly and two works which show indirectly that they were the Zoroastrians of India.

I.—The first and the most important work, which refers to this question, and to which frequent references are made in this matter, is the Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh of Abdul-Qâdir ibn-i-Mulûk Shâh Badâônî. We find the following passage in this work referring to the Parsees that went to the Court of Akbar, to take a part in the religious discussions there :—

BADÂÔNI.

و آتش پرستان که از شهر نوساری از ولایت گجرات آمده بودند دین زردشت را حق نمودند و تعظیم آتش را عبادت عظیم گفتند و بجانب خود کشیده از اصطلاح و راه و روش کیانیان واقف ساختند تا فرمودند که آتش را باتمام شیخ ابوالفضل بروش ملوک عجم که آتشکدهٔ ایشان همیشه بر پای بود دایم‌الاوقات چه در شب چه در روز در محل نگاه میداشتند باشند که آیتی است از آیات خدا و نوریست از انوار وی و هوم که عبادت است از آتش پرستی بموافقت دختران راجه‌های هند خود از عنفوان شباب درون حرم معمول بود و در ایام نوروز سال بیست و پنجم از جلوس سجدهٔ آفتاب و هم سجدهٔ آتش علانیه میکردند و مقربان نیز در وقت افروختن شمع و چراغ قیام لازم ساختند

(Page 261, l. 7. The Muntakhab-al-Tawârîkh of Badâôni, edited by Capt. Lees and Munshi Ahmad Ali, Vol. II., Calcutta 1865.)

Translation by Blochmann. (The Âin-i-Akbari, by Abul Fazl, translated by Blochmann, Vol. I., p. 184.)[1]

[1] Badâôni's passages about the religious views of Akbar have been translated by other scholars also. *Vide* (*a*) The Emperor Akbar's Repudiation of Eslâm, by Prof. Rehatsek. For this particular passage, *vide* p. 26. (*b*) Works of Prof. Wilson, Dr. Rost's Collection, 1862, Vol. II., pp. 379-400. Wilson gives

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

"Fire-worshippers also had come from Nausârî in Gujrât and proved to His Majesty the truth of Zoroaster's doctrines. They called fireworship 'the great worship,' and impressed the emperor so favourably, that he learned from them the religious terms and rites of the old Parsis, and ordered Abul Fazl to make arrangements, that sacred fire should be kept burning at court by day and by night, according to the custom of the ancient Persian kings, in whose fire-temples it had been continually burning; for fire was one of the manifestations of God and 'a ray of his rays.'"

"His Majesty, from his youth, had also been accustomed to celebrate the Hom (a kind of fire-worship) from his affection towards the Hindu princesses of his Harem."

"From the New Year's day of the twenty-fifth year of his reign (988) His Majesty openly worshipped the sun and the fire by prostrations, and the courtiers were ordered to rise, when the candles and lamps were lighted in the palace."[1]

---

rather a free rendering or purport than a literal translation. For the particular passage about the Parsees, *vide* p. 389. (*c*) Elliot's History of India, Vol. V., p. 530. (*d*) The work has been translated by Prof. Lowe, 1884; *vide* Vol. II., p. 268, for the passage. (*e*) Blochmann's versions have been quoted by Prof. Max Müller in his Introduction to the Science of Religion; *vide* Edition of 1882 (pp. 220-234), p 231, for this passage.

[1] The Âin-i-Akbari also refers to the king's reverence for fire and light. It says:—

گیهان فروز روشن دل نور دوستی را ایزد پرستی شمارد و ستایش
الٰهی اندیشه نادان تیره خاطر دادار فرامشی و آذر پرستی خیال
کند خرد پژوه ژرف بین نیکو داند پرگاه نیایش صورئی بر گزیدگان
طراز شایستگی دارد و نکردن را نکوهیده بر شمارد بزرگ داشت این
والا عنصر که سرمایهٔ پستی و پایندگی مردم زاد بوه چگونه سزاوار
نباشد وچرا بدان تباه خیال در شود و شیخ شرف‌الدین مُنیری چه
خوش میگوید پرکرا آفتاب فرو شود اگر با چراغ نسازد چه کند شعله
از آن سرچشمهٔ آلهي نورست و نشان آن گوهر قدسي اگر خور
و آذر نبودي غذا و دوا از کجا صورت بستی و چشم بینا بچه کار
آمدي آتش این شمع اقبال آسماني است

Blochmann's Text of the Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 48, 18th Ain.

Translation.

"His Majesty maintains that it is a religious duty and divine praise to worship fire and light; surly, ignorant men consider it forgetfulness of the

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Now what do we find from this passage of Badâôni's history? We find the following facts:—

(1) That the Parsees from Naosârî "proved to His Majesty the truth of Zoroaster s doctrines."

(2) That they "impressed the emperor so favourably that he learned from them the religious terms and rites of the old Parsîs."

(3) That Akbar thereupon "ordered Abul Fazl to make arrangements, that sacred fire should be kept burning at court by day and by night, according to the custom of the ancient Persian kings."

(4) In Hijri 988 (A. D. 1581), *i.e.*, about two years after the coming of the Naosârî Parsees to the court, "His Majesty openly worshipped the sun and the fire by prostrations; and the courtiers were ordered to rise when the candles and lamps were lighted in the palace." (This is a practice which is even now observed by many Parsees.)

Thus, we find from the above passage of Badâoni, that the Parsee mission from Naosari was successful in showing satisfactorily to Akbar, the fundamental principles of their religion. Badâôni says nothing about any mission of Persian Parsees. Had any Parsee mission come from Persia at this time, he would have alluded to it. He only speaks of the Naosari Parsees. It was on the authority of the above passage from Badâôni, that an eminent orientalist, like the late Prof. H. H. Wilson, in his paper entitled "Account of the Religious Innovations attempted by Akbar," printed in the *Quarterly*

Almighty, and fireworship. But the deep-sighted know better. As the external form of the worship of "the select" is based upon propriety, and as people think the neglect of some sort of worship abominable, there can be nothing improper in the veneration of that exalted element, which is the source of man's existence and of duration of his life; nor should base thoughts enter such a matter.

"How beautifully has Shaik Sharaf-ud-din Munyari said, 'What can be done with a man who is not satisfied with the lamp, when the sun is down?' Every flame is derived from that fountain of divine light (the sun), and bears the impression of its holy essence. If light and fire did not exist, we should be destitute of food and medicines; the power of sight would be of no avail to the eyes. The fire of the sun is the torch of God's sovereignty." (The Ain-i-Akbari, translated by Blochmann, Vol. I., p. 48). The tone of justification for sun-worship adopted here by Abul Fazl in the words, "If light and fire did not exist, we should be destitute, etc," reminds us of a similar tone of justification used in the Avestâ in the Khurshed Nyâish and Khurshed Yasht (The Invocation in honor of the Sun) and implied in the words "should not the sun rise up then the Daevas would destroy all things, etc."

[illegible] (yt. vi. 3. S. B. E., Vol. XXII., p. 86).

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Oriental Magazine, Calcutta, in 1824, said that a number of fire-worshippers from Naosari had influenced King Akbar in favour of Zoroastrianism.

Extracting from the work of Badâôni, "the substance of those passages which relate to the new religion of Akbar,"[1] he says, "A number of fire-worshippers who arrived from Nausarî in Guzerat, gained many converts to the religion of Zerdusht. The emperor was, to a certain extent, amongst them; and he committed the charge of maintaining a sacred fire in the palace night and day to Abul Fazl. He also assisted at the Homa, a species of fire-worship, which was performed daily in the inner apartments by those ladies of the harem, who were of Hindu descent."[2]

We must bear in mind, that this evidence from the work of Badâoni is the evidence of one, who was a staunch Mahomedan, and who was quite hostile to the religious discussions at the court, and to the Emperor's spirit of toleration. Badâoni wrote, as Prof. Max Müller says, "with an undisguised horror of Akbar's religious views."[3] His "book was kept secret, and according to a statement in the *Mirát-ul' álam*, it was made public during the reign of Jahángir."[4] So, had the Naosâri Parsees failed in their mission, he would not have hesitated to say so. It is on the authoritative testimony of such a contemporary writer, that Wilson bases his statement. He understands Badâoni clearly to say, that it was the fire-worshippers of Naosâri, who influenced King Akbar in the matter of Zoroastrianism.

No authority can be stronger than that of Badâoni, in the matter of describing the result of the visit of the Naosâri Parsis to the court of Akbar, and no authority can be stronger than that of Wilson, in the matter of properly understanding Badâoni's passage about the Naosâri Parsees.

There is another author, who has clearly understood Badâoni, as saying, that it was the Naosâri Parsees, who instructed King Akbar in Zoroastrianism. It is the Comte de Noer (1830 to 1881). I quote his words as translated from the German by M. G. Bonet Maury. "Il y avait â Naousari, dans le Goudjerat, des disciples de Zarathushtra, descendants de réfugiés persans, qui avaient été proscrits pour cause de

---

1 Works of H. H. Wilson, collected by Dr. Rost, Vol. II., p. 381.
2 Ibid., p. 389.
3 Introduction to the Science of Religion, Edition of 1882, p. 209.
4 Blochmann's Âîn-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 104, note 2.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

religion et avaient trouvé dans l' Inde une nouvelle patrie ; on les appelait Parsis, c-a-d. adorateurs du feu. Quelques uns de leurs prêtres furent mandés á Sikri, et initièrent l' empereur à leur religion."[1]

II.—The next important work which refers directly to this question, and to which frequent references are made in this matter, is the Dabistân, which was written, at least about 57 years after Badâoni's death.[2] The passage referring to this matter is as follows :—

و همچنین آتش پرستان که از قصبه نوساری که از ولایت گجرات است آمده بودند دین زردشت را حق و تعظیم آتش راعبادت عظیم می گفتند حضرت ایشانرا بجانب خود خوانده از راه و روش کیانیان وقوی حاصل نمودند و هم اردشیر نام زردشتي دانارا زر فرستاد از ایران آوردند و آتشرا باتمام تمام بنواب علامي شیخ ابوالفضل سپردند و مقرر ساختند که بر آئین موبدان بطریقي که آتش‌کدهٔ ملوک عجم همیشه برپا بود دایم‌الاوقات چه در شب چه در روز در اندرون شبستان نگهدارند که آیتي است از آیات خداوند و نوریست از انوار ایزد بلند و همچنین از کرمان آتش پرستانرا بخواند و دقایق دین زردشت از ایشان پرسیدند و نامها بآذر کیوان که سر کردهٔ یزدانیان و آباد انیان بود نبشتند و اورا به پند طلبیدند

(p. 266 of the Bombay Edition of the Dabistân of 1277 A. H. تعلیم دہم در عقاید الہیہ . نظر دوم از تعلیم دہم در بحث رأی اہل ادیان)

Translation.

"In like manner, the fire-worshippers who had come from the town of Nôusarî, situated in the district of Gujerât, asserted the truth of the religion of Zoroaster, and the great reverence and worship due to fire.

---

[1] L'Empereur Akbar par le Comte de Noer, traduit par G. B. Maury, Vol. I., pp. 314-315.

[2] The Dabistân, translated by Shea and Troyer. Introduction.—The author of the Dabistân mentions dates from A. D. 1618 to 1653, so it must have been written at least after 1653. He lived from A. D. 1615 to 1670. Badâoni died about 1596.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The emperor called them to his presence, and was pleased to take information about the way and lustre [1] of their wise men. He also called from Persia a follower of Zardusht, named Ardeshir, to whom he sent money; he delivered the sacred fire with care to the wise Shaikh Abu'l-Fazil, and established that it should be preserved in the interior apartment by night and day, perpetual henceforth, according to the rule of the Mobeds, and to the manner which was always practised in the fire-temples of the Kings of Ajem, because the *Iti* set[2] was among the sentences of the Lord, and light from among the lights of the great Ized. He invited likewise the fire-worshippers from Kirman to his presence, and questioned them about the subtleties of Zardusht's religion; and he wrote letters to Azer-Kâivân, who was a chief of the Yezdânian and Abâdâniân, and invited him to India. (Dabistân, Vol. III, pp. 95-96, translated by Shea and Troyer.)

We learn from this passage the following facts :—

(1) That "the fire-worshippers, who had come from the town of Nôusarî, situated in the disrict of Gujerat, asserted the truth of the religion of Zoroaster and the great reverence and worship due to fire."

(2) That "the emperor called them to his presence and was pleased to take information about the way and lustre[1] of their wise men" (*Kiániân*).

(3) He ordered Abul Fazl to keep the sacred fire burning day and night.

Thus we see that the three facts found in the passage of Badâôní are repeated in the above passage from the Dabistân.

But in the passage of the Dabistân there is one more statement which is not found in Badâoni. It is —

That Akbar "*also* called (mark the word '*ham*,' in Persian, *i.e.*, also) from Persia a follower of Zardusht, named Ardeshir, to whom he sent money. He invited *likewise* (mark the word "*hamchunin*" in Persian, *i.e.*, likewise) the fire-worshippers from Kirman to his presence and questioned them about the subtleties of Zardusht's religion; and he wrote letters to Azer-Kaivân."

---

[1] The word is روش not روشن; so it means customs.

[2] The English translator has not properly understood this passage. It is bodily taken from Badâoni, where it is translated by Blochmann as "Fire was one of the manifestations of God."

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Now it is sought to infer from the additional fact mentioned in the Dabistân that "Akbar must have been dissatisfied with the priests from Naôsari whom Badâoni mentions, and seeing that they could not teach him much, determined to go further afield and invite Ardeshir and other Parsees from Kirman."[1] The Dabistân does not at all permit that inference.

Firstly, in connection with this matter, simply from the fact that the Dabistân gives the above additional fact, it is supposed to give "a fuller and more detailed account."[2] A careful examination of the above two passages from Badâoni and the Dabistân in their original Persian, shows that the account of the Dabistân, on this subject, is no way "fuller and more detailed." It is an almost verbatim reproduction of Badâoni's passage. Were it not for the fact, that it is the old oriental authors that are concerned, among whom such things were, to a certain extent, common, such a reproduction, in modern parlance, would be called plagiarism pure and simple. I give below, side by side, the passages, both from Badâoni and from the Dabistân in their original Persian, which will enable any one to see at a glance that the Dabistân passage is nothing but a reproduction of the Badâoni passage, with the exception of the statement about Ardeshir and the fire-worshippers from Kirman.

BADÂONI.	DABISTÂN.
Va âtash parastân kê az sheher *i Naôsârî az velâyat i Gujrât âmadê bûdand,*	*Va* hamchunîn *âtash-parastân kê az* kasbê *i Nâôsârî kê az velâyat i Gujrâtast âmadê bûdand,*
din i Zardusht râ hak namûdand	*din i Zardusht râ hak*
va taazim i âtash râ êbâdat i azîm goftand, va *ba jâneb i khûd* kashîdê az estelâh va *râh va ravesh i kiânyân vâkef* sâkhtand.	*va taazim i âtash râ êbâdat i azîm* mi-*goftand.* Hazrat îshân râ *ba jâneb i khûd* khoând az *râh va ravesh i Kiânyân vakuf* hâsel namudand.
	va ham Ardashîr nâm Zardushtî dânâ râ zar firastâd va az Irân avurdand.

[1] Mr. Karkaria, "Akbar and the Parsees." Journal of the B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XIX., No. LIII, p. 296.

[2] Ibid., p. 295.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

tâ farmûdand kê *âtash râ ba ihtamâm Shaîkh Abu- al- Fazl* ba ravesh *mulûk i Ajam* kê *âtash-kadêh* i îshân *hamîshê bar pâê bûd dâyam al avkât chê dar shab chê dar rôz dar* mahl *negâh* midâshtê bâshand *ke âyatî ast az âyât i khûdâ va nûrîst az anvâr i vaê.*

va *âtashrâ ba ihtamâm* i tamâm ba navâb elâmî *Shaîkh Abu- al-Fazl* sepurdand va mukarar sâkhtand kê bar âîn i môbadân ba tarîkî kê *âtash- kadêh* i *mulûki Ajam hamîshê bar pâ bûd dâyam-al-avkât chê dar shab va chê dar rôz dar* andarûn i shabastân *negeh* idârand *kê âyati ast az âyât khûdâ va nur-ist az anvâr* i Izad buland.

The author of the Dabistân has taken bodily, not only the above passages from Badâoni's Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh, but a large portion of this subject of religion. Take for example Raja Birbal's praise of the sun (Compare Dabistân's Persian Text, Bombay Edition of 1277, p. 265, l. 12, and Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh, by Lees and Ahmed Ali, Vol. II, p. 260, l. 14. Compare Shea and Troyer's translation of the Dabistân, Vol. III, p. 93, and Rehatsek's translation of Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh in his "The Emperor Akbar's Repudiation of Esllâm," p.25), and Abul Fazl's argument with Badâoni on the subject of the previous authors not doing full justice to ancient prophets. (Compare Bombay Edition of the Dabistân, p. 266, l. 14, and Lees and Ahmed Ali's Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh of Badâoni, Vol. II., p. 262, l. 7. Compare the above-mentioned translations. Shea and Troyer III., p. 96; Rehatsek, p. 27).

Many other passages show that the author of the Dabistân has taken passages bodily from Badâônî, with slight changes of words here and there, and with this difference, that while Badâônî, strict Mahomedan that he was, has shown his bigotry in his expressions, the author of the Dabistân is free from it.

As to which is a better authority, the Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh of Badâônî or the Dabistân of the supposed author, Mohsan Fani, we have the following opinion of Prof. Wilson. He says : [1] "The Dabistân gives us an account of the religious disputations, which were held in Akbar's presence, and in the character of a philosopher may be supposed to personify the opinions of the king. This work does not, however, state the particular dogmas of the sect instituted by the monarch, and the sentiments of the sage are more of a negative than

[1] Works of Prof. Wilson by Dr. Rost (1862), Vol. II., pp. 379-380.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

affirmative description, subversive of all existing systems [redacted] the foundations of a new code of belief. From this u[redacted] however, we have a satisfactory appeal, and find in a work [redacted] towards the close of Akbar's reign, a most minute recapitula[redacted] progress of the Emperor's deflections from the faith of Moham[redacted] and the new institutes and observances which he laboured [redacted] introduce. The work is the Muntakhab-at-Tawârîkh compiled by Abd-ul-kâder Maluk Shah Bedâônî."

Professor Blochmann takes the same view. Giving extracts from Badâônî on the religious views of Akbar, he says: "The above extracts from Badâonî possess *a peculiar value*, because they show the rise and progress of Akbar's views, from the first doubt of the correctness of the Islam to its total rejection, and the gradual establishment of a new Faith, combining the principal features of Hinduism and the Fireworship of the Pârsîs. *This value does not attach to the scattered remarks in the Âîn, nor to the longer article in the Dabistân.* As the author of the latter work has used Badâôni it will only be necessary to collect the *few remarks* which are *new*" (Blochmann's Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 209). As to the discussions at the religious meetings, as described by the Dabistan, Elphinstone thinks them to be "probably *imaginary*" (Bk. IX, Chap. III., Cowell's ed., p. 535. The italics are mine).

Now, let us see, if we can account for the additional statement in the Dabistan, *viz.*, Ardeshir's visit to the court of Delhi. That a learned Persian Zoroastrian, named Ardeshir, came from Persia at the special invitation of Akbar is certain. That is proved from the independent source of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri. But the facts (1), that he came for quite another purpose, *not* for the purpose of taking any part in those religious discussions, which led Akbar to openly acknowledge Zoroastrian forms of worship, and (2) that he came a long time *after* the years 1581 and 1582 when Akbar adopted these forms of worship, are equally certain, and can be placed beyond any shadow of doubt.

As to the first fact, *viz.*, that Ardeshir was sent for, from Persia, by Akbar, for quite another purpose, we have the authority of Mir Jamal-ud-din, a writer contemporary with Akbar. He was the writer of the well-known Persian lexicon, Farhang-i-Jehangiri. This work was begun by him in the reign of Akbar, who had patronized it, and finished in the reign of his successor Jehangir, after whom it was called Farhang-i-Jehangiri. We will give here, in the words of the

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

elf, an account of his dictionary, as far as Akbar was with it. He says in the preface [1]:

Translation.

From the prime of youth, I had the inclination and desire reading and perusing the poems of the ancients, and in the company of friends and companions, a good deal of my time was spent in (reading) the discourses and collected poems of teachers of old times; and when many of their poems contained Persian, Pahlavi and Dari words and idioms, &c., I had helplessly to refer to Persian vocabularies called *farhangs*. And I came across many words and idioms in the poems of the ancients, which were not found in any dictionary; and in the case of those that were found, there was a good deal of contradiction and confusion. As the bankers of the thread of learning and wisdom, had written much in investigating and ascertaining the origin of words and idioms, but had made no difference between Persian and Arabic words, the object was not fulfilled, and necessary questions (of difficulties) remained neglected. Therefore, the desire of preparing a book in this noble branch of learning, became fixed in my poor mind. I collected in several parts, all the unknown words that came across my sight in books of poetry and prose. In short, I spent, well nigh one generation, which is the period of 30 years, a good deal of my time and a good deal of my life in making researches in Persian, Pahlavi and Dari words and idioms, &c.

" 'I worked hard for 30 years and revived Persia with this Persian.' [2] The hand of eloquence became strong through me. I finished the book of Pahlavi. After many researches and investigations, such a number of words and idioms were collected as had not come to the hand of any other lexicographer. But the arrangement of those, on account of difficulties, the description of the encounter of which is of no great advantage, had fallen into the sphere of delay; and from the excess of my inquiries,

---

[1] Lucknow lithographed edition, of 1293 Hijri (دیباچہ) Introduction, from page 3, l. 5. Mr. Manockji Rustomji Unwala's old manuscript, p. 1, l. 16. As far as I know, this portion from the preface of the Farhang has not been translated. So I give my own literal translation of it.

[2] Quoted from Firdousi. Mohl, Vol. I., Preface, p. XC., l. 20. Macan's Calcutta edition, Vol. I., p. 65, l. 18.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

my excellence in this art (of writing a lexicon) had reached such a stage, that very few words and phrases have remained uninvestigated by this slave (*i.e.*, myself) by means of his fiery inquiries of proofs; so that many just-minded friends, knowing me to be worthy of confidence in this kind of learning, brought before me every difficulty which they met with, in their study of prose and study of words . . . . . In short, the excellence of this servant, in this (branch of) learning, being sufficiently well known, in the month of Zi-'l-qu'da (*i.e.*, the 11th month) of 1000[1] Hijri, at the time, when the banner of Akbar Badshâh, the sun of the nobles . . . . . had the honour of appearing in the city of Srinagar, which is the capital of Cashmere, one of my friends spoke in the paradise-like assembly (of the king) about the researches of Persian words and phrases which I had been fortunate to make. The members of His Majesty's court, as soon as they heard this matter, called the humblest of sincere friends (*i.e.*, myself) in the noble and holy presence of his Majesty. His Majesty said very gracefully and elegantly (lit. with a tongue that drops pearls and scatters jewels) 'since the time the Arabs had the hand of authority in the country of Persia, the Persian language having been mixed with Arabic words, most of the Parsi and Dari and Pahlavi words have become obsolete, nay, have disappeared altogether. So the explanation of the books which have been written in old Persian languages, and the meaning of the poems, which poets of old times have adorned with ornaments of poetry, have remained concealed and hidden under the curtain of concealment and the veil of privacy.

---

[1] The lithographed edition from which I translate gives the year ۱۰۵۰ (*i.e.*, 1050), which is evidently a mistake for ۱۰۰۰ (*i.e.*, 1000). A manuscript copy of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri, lent to me by Mr. Manockji R. Unwala, gives ۱۰۰۵ (*i.e.*, 1005). That also is a mistake. Blochmann's manuscript (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1868, Part I., No. 1, p. 12) gives 1000. This is correct, because the writer connects the event with Akbar's visit to Srinagar, and we know that Akbar visited Cashmere in 1000 Hijri, "and reached his destination on the sixth of Muharrum (the first month) of the year one thousand and one" and spent nearly a month in "his private garden" ملاں ع ل (Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh, translated by Lowe, Vol. II., p. 398, Lees and Ahmad Ali's Edition, Vol. II., p. 384, ll. 19, 20). Thus according to Badâônî, on the 6th of Muharrum (the first month) of 1001, he arrived in Cashmere (*i.e.*, the capital). So the interview with Jamal-ud-din may have taken place a few days before.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Therefore, before this time, I had ordered some of the members of this court, which protects learned men, to prepare a book containing all the old Persian words and phrases. Nobody could perform that work as it should be.[1] It is necessary that in this noble branch of learning, you should prepare a book of good fame, and sublime name, so that in consequence of its always being united with my good fortune, its effect may remain permanently on the pages of time for day and night (*i.e.*, the book may be connected with my name and prove useful for ever). . . . . "

The author then goes on to say, that he then began to collect about 44 previous *farhangs* or lexicons, Zend and Pazend books and other Persian works. But, before he completed his work, Akbar died in 1014 Hijri (1605 A.D.). Akbar's son Jehangir came to the throne, and the dictionary was finally completed in his reign, three years after Akbar's death. So the author named it after Jehangir and called it Farhang-i-Jehangiri.

He says—

مرتبت گشت این فرہنگ نامي
باسم شاہ جمجاہ جہانگیر

چو جُستم سال تاریخش خرد گفت
زہی فرہنگ نورالدین جہانگیر

Translation.

i.e., this famous dictionary became honoured by the name of king Jehangir, who is like king Jamshed in dignity. When I looked for its date, wisdom said: "Zahi Farhang Nur-ud-din Jehangir," *i.e.*, Well done, the dictionary of Nuruddin Jehangier !

The numerical value of the letters of the above *miçrá* is 1017 Hijri (1608-09 A.D.). This is the date of its completion.

We learn from this long passage several facts. *Firstly*, we learn, why it was that king Akbar patronized it, and *secondly*, we learn the different dates of its commencement, its patronage by Akbar, and its completion. We will speak of the dates later on.

Firstly, as to the patronage extended to it by king Akbar, we learn that the speciality of this new lexicon, to which the author attaches great importance, and to which the king himself also attaches great importance, is that it contains many old Persian words, especially of Zend and Pazend origin. It is for this purpose, that the author collected several Zend and Pazend books.

[1] Arabic 'ka-mâ-yambaghi' meaning "as it should be."

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Now, it was to assist Mir Jamal-ud-din, the author of the Farhang, in his work, that king Akbar had specially sent for Ardeshir, a learned Persian of Kerman, to whom the Dabistan refers. Blochmann says on this point: "From the preface of the dictionary it appears that the labours of the compiler extended over thirty years. A. H. 1000, or thirteen years after the commencement of the compilation, when Akbar was at Srínagar, Mir Jamál-ud-dín received the order to complete his dictionary. Not only did Akbar grant sums for the purchase of manuscripts, but he even called learned men from Persia to assist Mir Jamal-ud-din in the compilation. The historian Badâônî indeed tells us that many a word was investigated in Akbar's *majlis-i-kháç*, the emperor himself evincing that taste for the study of words which Muhammadans so eminently possess . . . . The Zand and Pazand words form a peculiar feature." [1]

We learn from the Farhang-i-Jehangiri itself, that Ardeshir was sent for from Persia, for the purpose of this dictionary. Blochmann refers to this passage in his abovementioned paper on "Contributions to Persian Lexicography."

برسام . . . . . شرح این لغت از مجوسي که در دین خود بغایت فاضل بود و اردشیر نام داشت و اورا مجوسیان موبد می دانستند و حضرت عرش آشیانی [2] معض بجهت تحقیق لغات فرس مبلغها از برایش فرستاده از کرمان طلبیده بودند تحقیق نموده نوشت

(Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXXVII., Part I., No. 1, 1868, p. 14, article by H. Blochmann.)

As Blochmann has not translated this passage, I give my own translation.

Translation.

"Barsam.—The meaning of this word is written, after being ascertained from a Majûs (Magus), who was very proficient in the knowledge of his religion, and who had the name of Ardeshir, and whom the Magi held as their Mobed (priest), and whom His Glorious Majesty,

[1] Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXXVII., Part I., No. 1, p. 12-14, 1868. Paper on "Contributions to Persian Lexicography."

[2] Ervad Manockji Rustomji Unwala's old manuscript of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri gives the word as آستاني. It would then mean "of the throne-like thresho'd." But the word as given in Blochmann's manuscript is correct, because عرش آشیانی meaning "nestling at the foot of the divine throne" was "a name given to the Emperor Akbar after his decease."—(Steingass.)

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

having sent money for him, had specially called from Kerman for the purpose of ascertaining (the meanings of) Persian words." The word 'barsam' is an old Zand Avesta word. Firdousi uses it.[1]

The long explanation, which the author gives, of the word *Barsam* is very technical, and so he refers to his authority.[2] In the case of another word also, we find, that the author of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri gives his authority. It is in the case of the word Azar آذر. He does not give the name of the person but simply refers to him as an old person of the Zoroastrian faith. Blochmann thinks, that perhaps this is a reference to the same person Ardeshir. We read the following under the word, آذر or اذر. I follow the text of Mr. Unwala's manuscript.

فقیر کہ راقم این حروفم پیری از پارسیان را کہ در دین زردشت بود دیدم کہ جزوی چند از کتاب [3]زند و وستا داشت چون مرا رغبت و [4]سغف تمام بجمع لغات فرس بود و در فرس از ژنه

---

[1] The author of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri quotes the following lines in which Firdousi uses it:—

پرستندۂ آذر زردشت
بمیرفت با باژ برسم بمشت
چو از دور جای پرستش بدید
شد از آب دیدہ رخش ناپدید
فرود آمد از اسپ برسم بدست
بزم زم بمیگفت و لبرا ببست

The first couplet is from the account of Behrámgour's reign (Mohl VI., p. 64, couplet 705, Macan's Calcutta Edition, Vol. III., p. 1579). The next couplet can be traced, with a little modification, to the account of the reign of Khusrô Parviz (Mohl VII., p. 186, couplet 2205, Calcutta Edition, Vol. IV., p. 1949), but the third couplet, which seems to be in continuation of the second couplet, I am not able to find in any of the copies of the Shâh-Nâmeh with me.

[2] The word is so obsolete, from a non-Parsee point of view, and the explanation is so technical, that the later lithographed editions of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri have omitted the word 'barsam,' perhaps as being of no use to the modern students. Blochmann's manuscript of the work has given it. Mr. Manockji Rustomji Unwala's MS. which I have used for this purpose gives the word, *vide* p. 155.

[3] Blochmann's copy has the word correctly written ژندا وستا (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXXVII., Part I., No. 1, 1868, p. 14).

[4] The lithographed edition of Lucknow of 1293 Hijri (1876 A.D.), p. 56, has شفقت

و وستا [1] کتابی معتبرتر نیست بجهت تحقیق لغات با او صحبت میداشتم و اکثر لغاتی که در خاتمه این کتاب از زند و بازند و وستا نقل شده از تقریر آن [2] زردوشتیست و او هرگاه قراءت ژند مینمود باین لغت که میرسید آذر بضم دال غیر منقوطه میخواند و میگفت که در کتاب ژند و [3] وستا این لغت بدال منقوطه نیامده

Translation.[4] (I give my own translation, as Blochmann's is rather a free one.)

"I (lit. my humble self) who am the writer of these lines, saw an old man of the Parsees, who was of the Zoroastrian religion, and who had a few parts of the Zend Avesta books. As I had a great longing and yearning for the collection of Persian (*fars*) words, and as there is no more authoritative work for the Persian than the Zend Avesta, I kept up a friendly intercourse with him for ascertaining (the meanings of) words. And most of the words, which are given in the supplement of this book, from the Zend and the Pazend and the Avesta are as explained by that Zoroastrian. While reading the Zend whenever he came to this word (Âzar) he read it Âdar with a *zamma* (or '*pesh*') over *dâl* without the *núkta*, and said that in the book of Zend Avesta this word does not occur with a *dât* with the *núkta*."

Of these two passages, the first is very clear. It distinctly says, "that Ardeshir was (mark the ord مخصص) *specially* sent for, from Kirman for the purpose of ascertaining Persian words."

Dastur Aspandyâr Kâmdin of Broach (who lived from 1751 to 1826) in his book entitled કદીમ તારીખ પારસીઓની કસર. (pp. 50-51) published in 1826, a short time before his death, refers to the fact of Ardeshir's being called to India for the Farhang-i-Jehangiri.

---

[1] The Lucknow edition adds تقریر before this word.

[2] Blochmann's MS has زرتوشتی است

[3] The Lucknow edition adds پازند before this.

[4] Blochmann's translation runs as follows:—"I knew an old Persian, a Zoroastrian, who possessed some parts of the Zend Avesta. As I have a passion for collecting Persian words, and as no book enjoys a greater authority for Persian than the Zend Avesta, I often met him for the purpose of investigating some words; and indeed most of the Zand words which the Khatimah of my dictionary contains, have been extracted by this Zoroastrian from the Zend Avesta. Whenever he came across the word آذر in reading to me from his holy book, he pronounced it *ádur*, not *adzar*, etc." (Journal of the

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

But one may argue, that Ardeshir, even if specially sent for, for the purpose of the Dictionary, may have taken an active part in influencing Akbar to Parseeism. In order to meet that argument, we must try to fix the date of Ardeshir's visit to India.

We find in the Persian Revâyets, a letter from this Ardeshir to Dastur Kiamdin Padam of Broach, on the subject of fire-temples. The letter ends thus—

نبشته شد در روز دین ماه فروردین قدیم سنه ۹۶۷ یزدجرد شاه پنشاه

i.e. Written on the day Din month Farvardin 967 Yazdazardi.[1]

After copying that letter, the compiler of the Revâyats makes the following note :—

وقتی که دستور اردشیر نوشیروان کرمانی از ایران زمین در مُلک هندوستان پیش شاه اکبر آمده بود آنگاه این مکتوب بدستور قیام دین پدم نوشته بود (p. 458, l. 9)

i.e. At the time, when Dastur Ardeshir Noshirwân Kermâni had come from the country of Persia, to the country of Hindustan, before king Akbar, this letter was written to Dastur Kiamdin Padam.

From the body of the letter it appears that Ardeshir had received a message from Dastur Kâmdin of Broach at Mooltan, when he was

---

Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXXVII., Part I., No. 1, 1868, p. 14.) Prof. Max Müller refers to this passage and says (Introduction to the Science of Religion, Edition of 1882, p. 18): "We have the Zend Avesta, the sacred writings of the so-called fire-worshippers, and we possess translations of it, far more complete and far more correct than any that Emperor Akbar obtained from Ardeshir, a wise Zoroastrian, whom he invited from Kirman to India." Prof. Max Müller does not say a single word more than this, and still he is quoted in the paper, above referred to, as supporting the inference that "Akbar must, out of curiosity, have called Parsees from his own recently-conquered province of Guzerat for information, but, seeing that he could not get much out of them, he had to call others from Persia." (pp. 296, 297.) One can easily see from the full quotations from Blochmann and Max Müller that there is nothing at all in Max Müller's words supporting the above inference. The author of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri says that Ardeshir had "some parts (juz or *juzwe*, *i.e.*, a little, a trifle) of the Zend Avesta," and what Prof. Max Müller wishes to say is merely this : that in our times we have "far more complete and correct" manuscripts and translations than those brought by Ardeshir. Yet he is represented as supporting the above inference!

[1] Lithographed edition of the Revâyet, which is being printed by Mr. Manockji Rustomji Unwálâ, Vol. II. (pp. 455-458), p. 458, l. 7.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

on his way back to Persia. Ardeshir says, that had he received the message at Lahore, he would have thought of going to Dastur Kamdin at Broach.

چون در ملتان رسیدم بهدین کاوس ماهیار را دیدم..... اگر این فقیر بهدین کاوس را در لاهور میدید البته در خدمت میرسید

i.e. When I reached Multan, I saw Behedin Kâus Mâhiâr. . . . Had I seen Behedin Kâus at Lahore, of course, I would have come (p. 456, ll. 7-11).

This passage shows that Ardeshir left India in 967 Yazdajardi (1597 A.D.). This is the date of the departure of Ardeshir. Now let us see, if we can fix the date of his arrival. The above quoted long passage from the preface of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri helps us to do that.

We learn from that long passage of the preface, that Mir Jamâluddin had devoted 30 years to the work of his lexicon, and that it was during the time of Akbar's visit to Srinagar in 1000 Hijri (1592 A. D.) that the King extended to him his patronage. Now, as we saw, that Ardeshir was specially sent for, for the work of the lexicon by king Akbar, and as we further saw, that Akbar extended his hand of patronage to the author of the lexicon, only in A.D. 1592 (Hijri 1000), it is quite evident that Ardeshir must have come to India *after* A.D. 1592. This was then about 13 years *after* the date (1579 A.D.), when the religious discussions at the Ibâdat Khânêh, which influenced Akbar towards Parseeism were closed, about 11 years *after* the date (1581 A.D.) when Akbar openly accepted the outward forms of the Parsee worship, and one year *after* the death (1591 A.D.) of Dastur Meherji Rana.

Thus we see, that the Farhang-i-Jehangiri clearly proves the two facts (1) *firstly* that Ardeshir came from Persia, *for the purpose of the dictionary*, and (2) *secondly* that Ardeshir came to India *after* 1592, A.D., a long time before which, Abkar had openly adopted some of the visible forms of Parsi worship. This clearly shows, then, that it was the Indian Parsees of Naosari, who had explained to Akbar the Parsee religion and not Ardeshir from Persia.

The discussions, which are called "the learned and philosophic discussions of the Ibâdatkhana,"[1] and to take part in which, none of

[1] The Ibâdat Khânêh is spoken of in the Tabakat-i- Akbari as—نشیمن قدس کاشانه آلش—*i. e.* the holy seat, the place of fire (Munshi Newul Kishore's Edition of 1875, p. 328, l. 4).

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the Gujarat Parsees are supposed to "have possessed the requisite ability"[1] were practically closed in 1579 A.D. (987 Hijri). Blochmann says "*the disputations had now come to an end* (A.D. 1579), and Faizi and Abul Fazl had gained the lasting friendship of the emperor."[2]

It may be said that the religious disputations were not closed in 1579, because missionaries continued to come and go, long after that year.[3] But the later missions in after years had nothing to do with the religious disputations of the Ibâdat-khaneh. Anyhow, as far as the Parsees and their influence on Akbar were concerned, the disputations were closed. This is proved by several facts on the authority of Badâôni.

---

[1] Journal B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XIX., No. LIII., p. 297.

[2] Âîn-i-Akbari, Vol. I., Introduction, p. XV.

[3] The dates of these missions differ according to different writers. I give below the dates according to different authors :—

	Father Catrou, on the authority of Manouchi.	Comte de Noer, on the authority of Du Jarric.	Murray.
First Mission.	Arrival.—(Does not give the exact date, but it can be calculated by references.)	Arrival 1580.	Arrival 1570.
	About 1576 or 1577.	"Departure probably 1582."	Departure 1583.
	Departure.—1579 or 1580. (Rudolph Aquaviva left in 1582 or 1583.)	(Rudolph Aquaviva probably left in 1585.)	
Second Mission.	Arrival.—1589 (date of departure from Goa).	Arrival 1591.	Arrival 1591.
	Departure.—Date not given, but their stay appears to have been short.	Departure.—Gives no date, but their stay appears to have been short.	Departure.—Gives no date, but their stay seems to have been short.
Third Mission.	Arrival.—No date given, but it must have been before 1597 as a great fire, which took place in 1597 is said to have taken place when the mission was there.	Arrival 1595.	Arrival 1595.
	Departure.—The mission remained till the death of Akbar.	Departure.—Gives no date.	Departure.—Gives no date, but says that the mission left, when Akbar went to conduct a war in the Deccan. That was in 1596 (Elliot, Vol. VI., p. 92).

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

(1) From the new Jalâli year (988) 1580-81, the king openly adopted sun and fire-worship (Badâôni : Lowe, Vol. II., p. 269; Blochmann's Aîn-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 184; Rehatsek, p. 27). (2) Two years after, *i.e.* in 1582 (990) he "established 14 holidays according to the manner of the Zoroastrians (Badâôni: Lowe, Vol. II., p. 316; Blochmann's Âîn-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 195; Rehatsek, p. 53). (3) The document "unique in the Church History of Islam," which was the result of these disputations, and which separated Akbar from orthodox Mahomedanism, was signed in 1579 (Rajab 987) (Badâôni : Lowe, Vol. II., pp. 278-279; Blochmann's Âîn-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 186; Rehatsek, p. 31). It was a document for preparing which Badâôni applies to Abul Fazl, the proverb, "He prefers hell to shame on earth." (4) After the signing of this document, the king left for Ajmir on the 16th Rajab of the same year 987 (1579 A. D.). (5) He adopted the Parsee Calendar and established his era after the manner of the ancient Persians in 1584 (992), (Âîn-i-Akbari, Vol. II. (Jarrett), pp. 30-31.). Badâôni describes this change under the events of 990 Hijri (1582), (Lowe II., p. 316; Blochmann's Âîn-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 195; Rehatsek, p. 53).

Though the later missions came as late as 1595, they had nothing to do with the original discussions of the Ibâdat-khana. It is only the first mission that seems to have taken a part in the discussions at the Ibâdat-khana. All the three missions had to leave Akbar's Court disappointed, as far as the king was concerned.

Father Catrou says of the first mission that "Akbar seemed to have countenanced, for a season, the cause[1] of Christianity from a principle of curiosity only." Comte de Noer says something similar.

---

[1] According to Abul Fazl, the first mission of Father Rudolf (Padri Radif) took part in the discussions at the Ibadat-khaneh in 986 Hijri (1578-79 A.D.) (Akbar-nâmeh, Vol. III., p. 254, l. 20, Asiatic Society's Calcutta Edition. Elliot VI., p. 60). Badaoni places under the events of the year 986 Hijri (1578-79 A.D.) the event of Akbar ordering "Prince Murâd to take a few lessons in Christianity." (Badaoni-Ahmed Ali's text, Vol. II., p. 260, l. 6. Lowe's translation, Vol. II., p. 267. Blochmann's Aîn-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 182. Rehatsek, p. 25). Now it was Father Monserrat, a member of the first mission, who gave these lessons to this prince (Calcutta Review, January 1886, Vol. LXXXII, No. CLXIII, pp. 2 and 4). So according to Badaoni the date of the first mission was 986 Hijri (1578-79 A. D.).

1 History of the Mogul Dynasty, p. 113.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

He says "Mais ayant manqué le but réel de l' entreprise, qui était a conversion d'Akbar, les Padres retournèrent à Goa (L' Empereur Akbar, Vol. I., p. 330)." Murray says the same thing. "One of the courtiers, however, allowed it to transpire . . . . that his (Akbar's) sole aim was curiosity and entertainment." (Vol. II., p. 90.)

As to the second mission, the discussions at the Ibâdatkhana were long before over, and according to Father Catrou, we do not find them carrying on any "learned and philosophical discussion" whatever with the courtiers. They expected Akbar to be a Christian. "He often visited the fathers, proposing to them the most specious objections to our sacred mysteries, and appearing satisfied with the mysteries (explanation) he received." Nothing further happened. They had instructions to leave "whenever they should be satisfied that their mission had failed in its object." Their mission failed, and so they returned to Goa.[1]

According to Comte de Noer also, the second mission left without achieving any result. "Ils quittèrent L' Empire, sans avoir obtenu aucun résultat religieux."[2]

From Murray also we find, that they "went through nearly the same career as their predecessor. So long, indeed, as they were willing to swell the pomp of his court, and to amuse him by the display of relics and images, he appeared glad to have them about him . . . . They found that there was as little as ever of any serious intention of acceding to their wishes."[3]

Coming to the third mission, we find the same thing in their case. From Catrou, we do not find them taking any part in any discussions whatsoever. They converted some of the people. Akbar appeared at times well inclined toward them and their religion. But says Catrou "Nevertheless, some vestiges of his former superstition would escape him at intervals . . . . Heaven punished the pride and impiety of the prince in a remarkable manner."[4]

According to Comte de Noer, the third mission had a political object rather than a religous one. He says : "L'Ordre jugeait avanta-

---

[1] History of the Mogul Dynasty, Catrou, pp. 126-127.
[2] L' Empereur Akbar, Vol I., p. 330.
[3] Discoveries and Travels in Asia, Vol II., pp. 92-93.
[4] History of the Mogul Dynasty, p. 128.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

geux d' entretenir des agents politiques, à la cour du Grand Mogul, comme à d' autres cours."[1] From Murray also we learn the same thing. "There remained in the breast of the monarch a strong hold of idolatry, on which they could never make any impression." Thus, we see, that as Blochmann says, the discussions at the Ibâdat-khana were closed in 1579, and that the later Christian missions had no part in those discussions.

But even, if, for argument's sake, we take it for granted, that the discussions by the Christian missionaries continued after 1579 A. D., that *does not affect the main issue*, that by 1582 Akbar had openly adopted some of the Parsee forms of worship, the Parsee calendar and the Parsee festivals, whereas Ardeshir came long after that in 1592.

We said above, that the influence of Parseeism on king Akbar, was a *fait accompli*, sometime before the arrival of Ardeshir from Persia into India, because, he had adopted long before 1592, many of the Parsee forms of worship and observances. Among these was his adoption of the Parsee festivals. We find a reference to this fact in the Aín-i-Akbari also. We read the following (Ain 22, Book II.)[2]: — "His Majesty enquires into the excellent customs of past ages, and without looking to the men of the past in particular, he takes up that which is proper, though he have to pay a high price for it. He bestows his fostering care upon men of various classes, and seeks for occasions to make presents. Thus when His Majesty was informed of the feasts of the Jamsheds, and the festivals of the Pârsî priests, he adopted them and used them as opportunities of conferring benefits. The following are the most important feasts. The New Year's day feast[3] . . . . . Again, His Majesty followed the custom of the ancient Pârsîs, who held banquets on those days the names of which coincided with the name of a month . . . . . "

III. The third important work which refers—though indirectly—to the question whether it was the Indian Parsees or the Persian Parsees, who took a prominent part in the discussions of the Ibàdatkhanah in 1578-79 is Abul Fazl's Akbar-nâmeh. Abul Fazl refers to the presence of Zoroastrians in the assembly for religious discussions under the events of the commencement of the 23rd year of King Akbar's reign (986 Hijri, 1578 A.D.), a long time before Ardeshir's arrival. He thus speaks of a meeting for religious discussions on the 20th of the month Meher.

[1] L'Empereur Akbar, Vol. I., p. 331. [2] Ain-i-Akbari. Blochmann, Vol. I., p. 276. [3] "Badâônî generally calls this day Naûrûz-i-Jalâli."

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

بیستم مهر ماه الٰهي در آن عبادت خانه خلوت تجرّد را در بزم تعلّق چراغ افروختند ونقد دانش اندوزان مدرسه وخانقاه بعیارگاه بردند صاف از درد و سره از مغشوش جدا کردن آغاز شد و قراخيّ حوصله و بسطت ظلّ إلٰهي چهره آرای گشت صوفي حکیم متکلم فقیه سني شیعه برهمن جتي سیورا چار باک نصاري ا یهود صابی زردوشتي و سایر گوناگون مردم از دید آرامش محفل همایون.....نشاط فارغبالی نمودند

(Akbar-nameh, Vol. III., pp., 252-53, I. 22, Calcutta Edition of Abd-ur Rahim) Translation.

"On the 20th Mîr[1], in that place of meeting, the lamp was kindled to brighten the solitude of seclusion in the banquet of society, and merits of the philosophers of the colleges and monasteries were put to the test of the touchstone. [Health from disease, and good money from false money, began to be separated. Abundance of spirit and excellence of divine power enlightened faces.][2] *Sûfis*, doctors, preachers, lawyers, *Sunnis*, *Shiàs*, Brahmans, Jains, Buddhists, *Chârbâkis*,[3] Christians, Jews, [Sabeans][2] Zoroastrians and learned men of every belief were gathered together in the royal assembly, and were filled with delight"[4]. (Elliot's History of India (Dowson), Vol. VI., p. 59.)

As Ardeshir came after 1592, as already shown, the Zoroastrians present at the above discussions in 986 Hirji (1578 A.D.), were those of India.

As the author of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri says, Ardeshir was, no doubt, a learned priest. So one must naturally expect an inquisitive king like Akbar, to take advantage of his presence at his court, and make inquiries from him about Zoroastrianism as observed in Persia.[5] It is this fact, that the Dabistân takes note of, in adding one statement more, to those, that it had copied verbatim from the work of Badâoni.

[1] Meher. [2] As Elliot has omitted to translate this portion, I have given my own translation in brackets. [3] "Hindu materialists." The preceding words ought to be *Jatis* and *Sewras*, which are names of races. [4] Lit. showed exultation of joy at the sight of the pleasure of the royal assembly. [5] Things like that may happen even now. Several Zoroastrian rites and ceremonies performed by the Parsees of India, even now, differ from those performed by their co-religionists in Persia. Though I have personally officiated at Parsee marriages on several occasions in Bombay, it was only this month, that I had an occasion to witness a marriage of a Persian Zoroastrian, when I found a good deal of difference in the ritual.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

It is this fact, which Comte de Noer alludes to when he says: "Akbar avait fait venir de Perse, à grand frais, un prêtre parsi Ardjer, qui initia l'empereur aux rites antiques de sacroyance." (Maury's Translation, Vol. I., p 340.) But there is not a particle of evidence to show that Ardeshir took any part in leading Akbar to the adoption of some of the Zoroastrian forms of worship and of Zoroastrian festivals, &c. The fact, as shown above, by authentic dates, proves that Ardeshir came long *after* the event.

Again, apart from the question of dates above referred to,—and that is a question of very great importance in the consideration of the main question,—there is nothing whatever in the Dabistan, to any way belittle the work of the Naôsâri Parsees. It nowhere says that Naôsâri Parsees had no influence upon Akbar, and that it was because the Naosari Parsees had failed to explain their religion to Akbar, that Ardesir was sent for, from Persia. It says nothing of that kind. On the contrary, it says in the very commencement that (*a*) the Naosari Parsees "asserted the truth of the religion of Zoroaster" and (*b*) that the Emperor "was pleased to take information" from them.

If from the mere fact that king Akbar called Ardeshir from Persia long after the visit of the Naôsâri Parsees to Akbar's court, we were to infer that the Naôsâri Parsees did not satisfy the king, then there remain several facts to be explained.

1. The Dabistân further says that the king "invited likewise the fire-worshippers from Kirman to his presence, and questioned them about the subtleties of Zardusht's religion."[1] If it was Ardeshir, who, as alleged "took a prominent part in leading Akbar to Parseeism," and not the Naôsâri Parsees, why was there the further necessity of inviting more Zoroastrians from Persia?

2. Again, we learn further on from the Dabistân, that Akbar "wrote letters to Azer Kâivân, who was a chief of the Yezdâniân and Abâdâniân and invited him to India."[2] Now, if it was Ardeshir, who had "been able to take part in discussions showing skill and dialectical ability," why was there the necessity of inviting Azer Kâivân also.

3. Then take the case of another community, the Christian. We know that Akbar called from Goa, some of the learned

[1] Shea and Troyer, Vol. III., pp. 95-96.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 96.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Portuguese missionaries. They were Rodolfo Aquaviva, Antonio de Monserrat and Francisco Enriques.[1] We learn from the same authorities, which give these names, that later on Akbar sent for some other Christian missionaries. They were "Edouard Leïoton, Cristophe de Vega and a layman."[2] Again later on, a third party of missionaries, consisting of Jêrôme Xavier, Emmanuel Pignero and Benoît de Goïs[3], came to the Court of Akbar. Are we then to understand, that Akbar sent for these two other bands of missionaries, because he was *not satisfied* with the learning and the teaching of the first missionaries? No, these later parties of missionaries had little to do with the discussions at the Ibâdat-khaneh. They were latterly sent for, for other reasons, but not because Akbar was dissatisfied with the first party.

Again, one must mark the words هم and همچنین meaning '*likewise*' used in the Dabistân, in connection with both (*a*) Ardeshir, (*b*) and the other Zoroastrians from Kerman. Even, suppose, for argument's sake, that Akbar sent for Ardeshir from Persia, both for the purpose of the dictionary, and for seeking knowledge on Zoroastrianism. But that does not show, that he was *not satisfied* with the Naôsâri priests. If an inquirer after truth, goes on sending for experts from different parts of the world, that does not necessarily show, that he is dissatisfied with the first batch of experts. His inquisitive mind may crave for knowledge from different quarters.

We find from these facts, that according to Badâôni and according to the Dâbistan also, it was the Naôsâri Parsees, who explained to king Akbar, the tenets of Zoroastrian religion, and influenced him, and not Ardeshir and the Parsees from Persia. Ardeshir did not come to India earlier than 1592. Long before that year, the religious discussions at the Ibâdat-khâneh, in which the Parsees were concerned, had been closed, and according to Badâôni, the contemporary historian

---

[1] L'Empereur Akbar, par Le Comte de Noer, translated by Maury, Vol. I., p. 326. The names are given on the authority of du Jarric. History of the Mogul Dynasty by Father Catrou, translated into English (1826), p. 105. Murray's Historical Account of the Discoveries and Travels in Asia, Vol. II., p. 83.

[2] *Ibid.* Comte de Noer, p. 330; Catrou, p. 126; Murray (p. 92) alludes to this mission but does not give names.

[3] *Ibid.* Comte de Noer, p. 331; Catrou, p. 127; Murray (p. 93) alludes to the third mission, but does not give names.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of Akbar, in 1581, *i. e.*, at least about eleven or twelve years before the arrival of Ardeshir from Persia, the king had openly accepted Parsee forms of worship. Badâôni is very clear on this point. "From the New Year's day of the 25th year of his reign (988 Hijri, *i. e.*, 1581 A. D.), His Majesty openly worshipped the sun and the fire by prostrations; and the courtiers were ordered to rise when the candles and lamps were lighted in the palace. (Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 184. Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., p. 269.)

IV. There is another work of history, which distinctly says that in the 24th year of his reign (*i. e.*, in 1579 A. D.), Akbar was led away from Mohamedanism by several learned men, among whom it includes "several infidel and impious Parsees, who are devoted to the religion of the Magi." The writer here gives the exact date of the influence of the Parsees, *viz.*, the 24th year of his reign, *i. e.* 1579 A. D., the very date when the Naôsari Parsees were at Akbar's Court according to Badâôni. Ardeshir came at least 13 years after this date. This work then leads us to conclude, that it was the Naôsari Parsees, and *not* the Persian Parsees, who led Akbar towards Zoroastrianism. Though the work is later, its statement is supported, both by Badâôni and the author of the Dabistân. It is known as Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind (تاریخ ممالک ہند) *i. e.*, The History of the countries of India.[1]

[1] It was written by one (غلام باسط) Gulam Basit, in 1196 Hijri (1782 A.D.) at the desire of an English officer named (جنرل جایلس اسطبت) General Giles Istibat. I read the name, as it is given in the manuscript copy of the Mulla Firoz Library (Rehatsek's Catalogue IV. (History), No. 15, p. 76). Elliot (History of India, Dowson, Vol. VIII., p. 200-201) reads the name of the officer, from the manuscript he saw, as General Charles Burt. Rehatsek reads the name from the Mulla Firoz MS. as General Jayles Estbet (?). The author says in his preface, that he had made two copies of his work, one for the General and one for himself. Prof. Rehatsek seems to have committed two mistakes in his catalogue—(1) about the name of the author, and (2) the date of the works. He says, "The compiler of this work, Kuhmân Singah, states that he began it A. H. 1196 at Calcutta, by order of the English General Jayles Estbet (?), in whose service he was, and at the end of the MS. he states that he completed it A. H. 1240 (*i.e.*, 44 years afterwards)." Prof. Rehatsek has evidently committed a mistake here. Kuhman Singah is not the name of the compiler or author, but of the copyist, and the date is not the date of the completion of the work, but of that of the copy. This is clear from the following passage which we read at the end of the book :—

تاریخ ممالک ہند بروز پنجشنبہ ماہ ربیع الاول سنہ ۱۲۴۰ ہجری
بدستخط بندہ کمترین کہمانسنگہ صورت اتمام یافت

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

In describing the events of king Akbar's reign, the author says, "Birbal and chiefly the infidel (Kâfar) Parsees brought about a change in the mind of Akbar." The words in the original are :—

در سنه ۲۴ جلوسی خود بسبب موافقت اکثر علمای دین فروش و ابن الغرض مثل ابوالفضل و فیضی و برهمنان خلاف عقاید مثل بیربر و اکثر کفار و ملاحده پارسی که بدین مجوسی مقید اند و بعضی جوگیان انحراف در مزاج بادشاه افتاد ازین معنی نعوذ بالله چندان در مقدمه شریعت اعتقاد نداشت

(Mulla Firoz Library's MS. folio 287a, ll. 6-13, Rehatsek's Catalogue of 1873, IV, History, No. 15.)

As this work is not translated I give my own translation of the above passage.

"In his 24th Jalûsi year, through association with several learned men, who were irreligious and interested—in short, men like Abul Fazl and Faizi, and Brahmins of opposite faiths, like Birbar and chiefly infidel and impious Parsees, who are devoted to the religion of the Magi, and many Jogis—a change came upon the mind of the king. On that account, may God save us from such an evil (*na-uzu-billah*) he had not much faith in the principles of the faith (of Islâm)."

Now, though these are the words of a later historian, they are supported by Badâôni and the author of the Dabistân.

---

i. e., The Târikh-i-Mamalik-i-Hind was completed by the hand of humble servant Kuhman Singah on Thursday Mâh Rabi-ul-Aval 1240.

It is a small work which cannot have taken 44 years to be completed. It is the date of the completion of the copy, not of the original work. Again, Prof. Rehatsek is also wrong in concluding that "The only copies existing are that which he made for himself, and the one for his master—probably this MS., because it is very neatly written on glazed paper, &c." Prof. Rehatsek was, perhaps, misled by what is said in the preface by the author, that he made two copies, one for his master and one for himself, and perhaps by what Elliot* wrote, "I know of only two copies of this history. One belonged to the late Mullâ Firoz of Bombay, and another I saw at Kanauj with the title Zubdatu-t-Tawarikh." (Elliot VIII., p. 202.)

* Elliot's History, Vol. VIII., was published in 1877, *i. e.*, 4 years before Rehatsek prepared his catalogue (in 1873) of the MSS. of the Mulla Firoz Library.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Birbal or Birbar was a favourite courtier of king Akbar. By Badâôni, he is spoken of as *malaûn* ملعون *i.e.* accursed,[1] because he was believed to be one of those, who led the king away from Mahomedanism to sun-worship and fire-worship. Badaoni says, "The accursed Byrber proposed that as the sun is a perfect manifestation and promotes the ripening of the harvests of corn, of fruits and of all green things, and that as the illumination of the universe and the lives of the inhabitants of the world are depending on it, it ought to be worshipped and magnified, and that people ought to turn towards the east and not to the west . . . . The conquered philosophers and scholars of the court strengthened these arguments by asserting that the sun is the greatest luminary and benefactor of the whole world . . . These declarations became the occasion of the enhancement of the solemnity of the Jallâly new year's day, which His Majesty annually celebrated as a festival from the beginning of his reign [2]."

The word in the text which Rehatsek translates by "conquered" is مقهور. It has several meanings, though all well nigh similar. They are: "conquered, subdued, vanquished; deserving or destined to be vanquished (as the armies of the infidels); oppressed, vexed."[3] Blochmann translates it as "in disgrace."[4] Lowe does not translate the word. Wilson simply translates, "The learned men of the Court acknowledged that the sun, &c."

We thus see, that the learned persons at the Court, of whom Badaoni speaks as *Maqhûr*, *i. e.* "deserving to be vanquished as the armies of the infidels", are the Parsees, referred to by the writer of the later work Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind as "infidel Parsees."

---

[1] Badâoni applies several such abusive epithets to Birbal. He calls him "hellish dog" (سگ جهنمي Lees' and Ahmed Ali's text, Vol. II., p. 274, l. 6.; Lowe II., p. 282) and bastard (حرامزاده p. 211, l. 11; Lowe p. 214) wretch (بدبخت Text II., p. 317, l. 2; Lowe II., p. 326). Of his death he says, he "was killed and entered the pack of the hellhounds and received a portion of his base, deeds بقتل رسيده در سلک سگان جهنم داخل شد و پارهٔ از جزاي اعمال شنيعه خود يافت (Text II., p. 350, ll. 16, 17; Lowe's translation II., p. 361.)

[2] The Emperor Akbar's Repudiation of Esllâm, translated from Badaoni by Rehatsek, p. 25. Muntakhab-al Tawarikh, edited by Lees and Ahmed Ali, Vol. II., p. 260. Lowe's Translation II., p. 268. Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 183. Works of Prof. H. H. Wilson, Vol. II., p. 387.

[3] Steingass's Persian Dictionary.

[4] Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 183.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Anyhow, whatever meaning we attribute to the word (مقهور) *maqhûr*, the passage shows, that when Birbal spoke of sun-worship before Akbar, he was supported by some learned men at the Court, of whom Badâôni speaks contemptuously. Some learned men at the court were Birbal's associates. These learned men whom Badâôni condemns, were the Parsees, whom the Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind associates with Birbal.

The Dabistân which follows Badaoni's work also gives a similar version. It says :—

"The Rajah Birber conceived in his mind that the sun is an object all comprehensive; that he causes the ripening of the grain, of the sown fields, of the fruits, and of all vegetables, and gives splendour and life . . . .A sect of the fire-worshippers stated also that the learned entertain conflicting opinions about the existence of spirits, of unity, and the self-existing being; and other sects denied this; but no denial is possible about the existence, the splendour and the beneficence of the sun."[1]

We find from this passage of the Dabistân, that its author has clearly understood the allusion in Badâôni, as referring to the fire-worshippers or the Parsees. The later editions of the Dabistân, *e. g.* the Bombay edition of Hijri 1277 (p. 265, l. 16) which I have used, give the words as "a sect of sun-worshippers" (طایفئہ از آفتاب پرستان) Some editions give the word "Atash parast," as it appears from the translation of Shea and Troyer. Thus we see from the Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind and from the passages of Badaoni's history and of the Dabistan, that Birbal's arguments at the court of Akbar in favour of sun-worship, were supported by the fire-worshippers or the Parsees. Thus the statement of the Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind is supported both by Badaoni and the author of the Dabistân.

Now the Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind places this event in the 24th year of Akbar's reign, *i. e.*, in 1579, which was the very time of the religious discussions, at the Ibadat-khânah, and the time of the visit of the Naôsari priests at Akbar's Court. Even if we had no date of the above event in the Târikh-i-Mamâlik, we could have determined it in another way. We learn from Badâôni,[2] Abul

[1] The Dabistân by Shea and Troyer, Vol. III., pp. 93-94.

[2] Lees and Ahmed Ali, Vol. II., p. 350. Lowe II., p. 361. Blochmann, Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. I., pp. 204, 344, 404.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Fazl[1] and other writers[2] that Birbal was killed in 994 Hijri (1586 A. D.), in a battle with the Yusufzâi Afghans.[3] This was at least about six years before the arrival of Ardeshir from Persia (about 1592).

This additional evidence of the Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind, based on Badaoni's work and on the Dabistân, shows that it was the Indian Parsees, who had associated themselves with Birbal in influencing Akbar, and not Ardeshir from Persia. But we need not take the date of the death of Birbal to prove indirectly, that the event took place before Ardeshir's arrival in India. We have, as said above, the direct statement of the author, who places the event in the 24th year of Akbar's reign, *i.e.*, in 986-987 Hijri (1579 A.D.), when the religious discussions at the Ibâdat-khâne were coming to an end. The Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind then very clearly shows that it was the Parsees of India, who brought about "a change in the mind of the king."

We have so far seen, then, that the Muntakhab-al Tawârikh of Badâoni and the Dabistan, directly, and the Akbarnameh of Abul Fazl, and the Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind of Gulam Bâsit, indirectly show, that it was the Indian Parsees, the Nâosari Parsees, who had led Akbar towards Parseeism. According to the Farhang-i-Jehangiri, Ardeshir came in or *after* 1592 A.D. So he had no share in bringing

[1] Akbar-nameh, Elliot VI., p. 84. [2] Zubdatu-t-Tawârikh, Elliot VI., p. 191.

[3] The idea, with which Akbar, on hearing of Birbal's death in a distant country, was consoled, is significant. Badâoni says: "He never experienced such grief at the death of any Amir, as he did at that of Birbar. He used to say 'Alas, that they could not bring his body out of that defile, that it might have been committed to the flames!' But, afterwards they comforted him with these words, 'Since he is freed and delivered from all the bonds of mortality, the light of the sun (نیرا عظم) is sufficient purifier for him, although indeed he did not require any purification." The words of respect here used for the Sun are the same as those used by Birbal in his advocacy of Sun-worship. (Badaoni's Text II., p. 260). (Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., p. 362, Lees and Ahmed Ali's text, Vol. II., p. 351, ll. 4-8.) As Birbal was a staunch advocate of Sun and fire-worship, in which advocacy, according to the Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind, he was supported by the Parsees, the above words of consolation about his corpse being exposed to the Sun, are significant. Elliot attributes these words of consolation to Akbar himself. He translates "Afterwards he derived consolation from reflecting, that as Birbal was pure," etc. (Elliot Vol. V., p. 529, n. 2), but I think that the words in the text (باز تسلي باين ميداد نه) do not allow of that rendering, and Lowe's translation is more correct.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

about the above result. A long time before his arrival the king had openly adopted Sun and Fire worship from the new Jalâli year 988 H. (1580-81 A. D.), had established 14 Zoroastrian holidays in 1582 and had adopted Parsi calendar.

II.

We now come to the second part of our subject.

The question is, who was the leader of the Naôsâri Parsees? There is a very old tradition, supported by written documents among the Parsees, that it was Dastur Meherji Rana, who headed the party from Naôsâri and explained to Akbar, the principles of Zoroastrianism. If it was not Dastur Meherji Rana, who was it? It is for those, who have doubts about his mission, to say who it was. The tradition about Dastur Meherji Rana is confirmed by facts which we will now examine.

I. The *first* important fact showing that Dastur Meherji Rana had gone to the court of Akbar and influenced him, is, that he was granted a piece of land of about 200 *bigahs* at his own native town of Naôsâri. We have not got the original *farmân* to Dastur Meherji Rana, but we have got the one granted to his son, Dastur Kaikobad, for continuing in his possession the above land granted to his father, together with 100 *bigahs* more, granted to him personally. In this *farmân*, the grant of land to Dastur Meherji Rana is clearly referred to. In describing the land, the document says about the 200 *bighahs* صواد قصبه نوساری که زمین مذکور قبل از این در وجه مدد معاش مایار بود

i.e. In the district of Naôsâri, where the above-mentioned land was (allotted) before this time, for the purpose of the help of livelihood (madad-i-maâsh.) of Mâhyâr.[1]

I produce several original documents on the subject of this grant of land to Dastur Meherji Rana.

(1) I lay before the Society, the very original *farmân*, kindly lent to me for the occasion, by Dastur Dârâbji Mâhyârji, the present Dastur of Naôsâri. I append at the end of my paper a copy of the document.[2] It is dated 40th year of Akbar's reign, *i.e.*, 1595 A.D.

Mr. Karkaria doubts the fact of Meherji Rana's going to Akbar's court, on the ground, that his name "is not found even in this family grant." He is quite wrong. As quoted above, we do find Meherji

[1] Mâhyâr is the original Persian form of the name, from which Mahyârji and then Meherji are irregularly formed. [2] *Vide* the photo-litho facsimile at the end and pp. 93-94 for the copy.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Rana's name in the above document, as that of the person to whom 200 *bigahs* of the land were originally given. The document bears king Akbar's seal, and is given in the 40th year of his reign.

The form of the seal is one of the forms, referred to by Abul Fazl, in his 20th Áin on "the Royal Seals."[1] Abul Fazl says, "the seal-engraver cut in a circular form upon a surface of steel in the *riqâ* (رقع) character, the name of his Majesty and those of his illustrious ancestors up to Tîmûrlang." The seal on the *farmân*, which I produce, is of this kind. The name 'Jalaluddin Mahamad Akbar Badshah,' we find in the centre. On the right of that name, we find the name of his ancestor Babêr. A little above that of Humâyûn. That of Taimur stands at the top.

This document clearly shows, that some land at Naôsâri was granted by Akbar to Meherji Rana. Why was it granted? It was for services as tradition asserts, rendered by Meherji Rana at the court, in explaining to the king the religion of Zoroaster. These services are referred to by a writer in 1765, as we will see later on.

We must note here, that the grant was as *madad-i-maâsh* (assistance for livelihood), which was a special form of gift. *Madad-i-maâsh* was a grant of land given to those who had rendered some services to the court, but not directly in the court.[2] Badâônî had a similar *madad-i-maâsh* of 1000 bigahs of land. It differs from jâgîr. Jâgîr is a grant for services at court, but *madad-i-maâsh*, for services to the court, but not directly at the court continuously.[3]

On the subject of these grants, Abul Fazl says: "His Majesty, in his care for the nation, confers benefits on people of various classes; and in the higher wisdom which God has conferred upon him, he considered doing so an act of divine worship. . . . . .

"Subsistence allowances, paid in cash, are called *Wazîfah*; lands conferred are called *Milk* or *Madad-i-maâsh*."[4]

Blochmann thus explains this word[5]: "The latter term (*madad-i-maâsh*) signifies 'asistance of livelihood' and, like its equivalent *milk* or

---

[1] Blochmann's Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 52. Blochmann's Calcutta Edition, Vol. I., p. 47, ll. 18-19. For further particulars *vide* appendix, p. 107.

[2] Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXXVII., Part I., p. 126, Article on Badaônî and his Works by Blochmann.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 127.

[4] Blochmann's Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 268, Bk. II., Âin 19. Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 198, ll. 1-2 and 6.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 270.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

property, it denotes 'lands given for benevolent purposes,' as specified by Abul Fazl. Such lands were hereditary, and differ for this reason from *jâgîr* or *tuyûl* lands, which were conferred, for a specified time, on Mançabdârs in lieu of salaries." This shows, that the grant of land given to Dastur Meherji Rana, was of a kind, superior to that of the ordinary jâgîrs. This must be then in appreciation of some valuable services of Meherji Rana.

This grant to Dastur Meherji Rana was, according to tradition made in about 1578 A. D. This was the very time when king Akbar, according to Badâôni,[1] deprived the former Mahomedan *Ulamas* of their *madad-i-maâsh*. A grant of land to a Parsee priest, in the very year, when there was a general resumption of the grants, shows, that there were special reasons for rewarding him. Abul Fazl says of this department of the grant of lands that "His Majesty, with the view of teaching wisdom and providing true piety, pays much attention to this department."[2] According to Badâôni also, the king "wished personally to enquire into their grants".[3] There must have been, then, special reasons for the king to reward Dastur Meherji Rana with a grant of land, and that grant, not a jâgîr or a temporary grant, but a madad-i-maâsh, *i.e.* an hereditary grant.

(2) We have also a second *farmân* for the above grant of land. It is a *farmân* subsequently repeated in the 48th year of Akbar's reign (1603 A.D.). It also makes the same statement, as that in the first *farmân*, *viz.*, that the grant of 200 bigahs of the land was at first made for the madad-i-maâsh of Mâhîyâr. I beg to produce this second original *farmân*.[4] It bears Akbar's seal as in the first case. The name of the *parganah* in which the additional land to Kaikobad was situated is different here from that in the first *farmân*. In the first *farmân* the land is said to be in Erûî in the *parganah* of Pârchôl (از یروی در پرگنه پارچول).[5] In the second *farmân* it is said to be in Tavri in the *parganah* of Talâri.[6] (توری در پرگنه تلاری).

[1] Text II., p. 278. Blochmann's Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 189; pp. 268-69, Bk. II. Âin 19 Journal Asiatic Society of Bombay, Vol. XXXVII., Part I., p. 128.

[2] Blochmann's Âin-i-Akbar-i, Vol. I., p. 270, Bk. II., Ain 19, end. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 189. [4] *Vide* appendix for the photo-litho facsimile and pp. 119-120 for the copy. [5] Erûî is in the taluka now known as the Jalalpur Taluka near Naôsâri.

[6] The parganahs of Télâri and Pârchôl are referred to in the Ain-i-Akbari as being situated in the *sarkâr* of Surat (Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II., Jarrett, pp. 256-257. Calcutta text of Blochmann, Vol. I., p. 497. Column II., ll. 1 and 14). Pârchôl

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The change in the name may be due to the fact, that the plot of ground to Dastur Kaikobad may have been subsequently changed. The following passage in the Ain-i-Akbari suggests the reason why this change may have been made :—

و پس از چندي آگهي شد که اين گروه زمين يکجا ندارند—کم نيرو از انبازئي خالصه و جاگيردار آزرده ميگردد و بدگوهران را دستمايهٔ بي ديانتي ميسازد فرمان شد که يکجاي دلخواه تن دهند و چارهٔ اين دو گروه برسازند

(Blochmann's text of Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 198, ll. 16-18, Bk. II., Âin 19.)

Blochmann thus translates the passage: "After some time it was reported that those who held grants, had not the lands in one and the same place, whereby the weak whose grounds lay near *khâliçah* lands or near the jâgîrs of Mançabdârs, were exposed to vexations, and were encroached upon by unprincipled men. His Majesty then ordered that they should get lands on one spot, which they might choose. This order proved beneficial for both parties." (Blochmann's translation of Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. II., pp. 268-69.) Akbar changed the *madad-i-maâsh* for other reasons also. Badaoni's land was so changed. He says in his Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh (Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., p. 379) : "Mentioning my name, he (the Emperor) said, 'there is a certain man of Bâdâôn ; we have of our own will changed his *madad-i-maâsh* without abatement from Basâwar to Bâdâôn." From the translation of the document, which I append at the end, it seems that about eight years after the first *farmân*, Kaikobad was subjected to vexations. The second *farmân* refers to this fact and asks the authorities concerned, to return to Kaikobad, whatever he may have been deprived of from the income of his land.

(3) We have a third document dated the 48th year of king Akbar's reign (1012 H., 1603 A.D.), from Khân Khânân, the *sepâhsâlâr* giving orders, that though a general *farmân* directs that all the land given for

---

had 55,920 *bigahs* of land and Tôlari 35,091. Pârchôl had the revenue of 1,508,000 *dams* and Tôlari of 917,890 *dams*. (According to the 10th *âîn* of the first book of the Âin-i-Akbari, the *dam* weighs 5 *tânks* (تانک) *i.e.*, 1 *tolah* 8 *mâshahs* and 7 surks ; it is the fortieth part of the rupee "(چهلم بخش روپیه) (Blochmann's translation I., p. 31, text I., p. 26, l. 25.)

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

madad-i-maâsh may be halved, Kaikobad's grant of 300 *bigâhs* may not be halved. I produce that original document.[1]

(4) Then we have a fourth document—and that a very important document—dated 1005, H. (1597 A.D.) from Nawâb Çâdik Muhammad Khan, specially referring, to the 200 bigahs of land, given to Meherji Rana[2] for his *madad-i-maâsh*.

II. The *second* important fact is, that we have some very old songs or poems, that chronicle the events of Meherji Rana's visit to the court of Akbar and of his influence upon the king. Of these songs Mr. Karkaria says: "These poems, which are mere doggerel, were composed, I find on inquiry, by hireling rhymesters a generation or two ago, as may be seen from the language in which they are written." I beg to show that these songs were not composed a generation or two ago and by hirelings. One of these songs was composed by Tansen, a contemporary of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana.

I produce before the Society an old manuscript of a book of songs, which contains a song, connecting the name of Dastur Meherji Rana with Akbar. The manuscript, which I produce, belongs to my friend Mr. Manockjee Rustomjee Unwala. The book contains a number of songs, and at the end, the story of Changragâch, who was supposed to be an Indian sage visiting ancient Persia.

It appears from the colophon[3] of the manuscript that the manuscript was written on *roz* Abân, *mah* Bahman 1161 Yazdazardi, 1848 *Samvat* (*i.e.* 1792 A. D.). So the manuscript is 110 years old. The writer of the book is a priest of Surat, Mobed Behrâm, son of Jiji. It was written for Behdin Jamshedji Kukâji. The date of the colophon, as given above, shows, that it is an old manuscript. Also the name of the person, for whom it was written, shows, that it is an old manuscript. We find from the Parsee Prakash[4], that this Jamshedji Kukâji was a well-known merchant of Bombay and lived from 1745 to 1810 A. D. He was the father-in-law of Mr. Nusservânji Cowasjee Petit, the great-great-grandfather of the present Sir Dinshaw Manockjee Petit, Bart. This fact also then proves, that the manuscript is more than 100 years old. So the song in this manuscript must be older. I give the song in the appendix. The song points clearly to Dastur Meherji Rana's relations with king Akbar.

[1] *Vide* Appendix for the photo-litho facsimile and p. 133 for a copy.
[2] *Vide* Appendix for the photo-litho facsimile and p. 139 for a copy.
[3] *Vide* appendix for the song and for the colophon pp. 163-64.
[4] The Parsee Prakâsh, by Khan Bahadur Bomanjee Byramjee Patel, Vol. I., p 116.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

We find from the song itself, that its author was Tansen, the celebrated minstrel of the court of Akbar. His name occurs at the end of the song, as in the case of the songs of many oriental songsters and poem-writers. Tansen is spoken of by Abul Fazl, in his 30th Âin[1] of the second book, as "Miyân Tansen of Gwáliár." He places him at the head of all the principal musicians of Akbar's court. He says that "a singer like him has not been in India for the last thousand years." According to Blochmann,[2] "Râm Chand [3] is said to have once given him one kror of tânkahs as a present." This Râm Chand was Rajah of Bhat'h or Bhattah. Blochmann says of him : "The emperor sent Jalâluddin Qûrchî to Bhat'h to induce Tânsîn to come to Âgrah. Râm Chand feeling himself powerless to refuse Akbar's request, sent his favorite with his musical instruments and many presents to Âgrah, and the first time that Tânsîn performed at court, the Emperor made him a present of two lakhs of Rupees. Tânsîn remained with Akbar. Most of his compositions are written in Akbar's name, and his melodies are even now-a-days everywhere repeated by the people of Hindûstân.[4]"

My attention to this song was drawn, when it was first published in the *Rast Goftar* of 29th October 1899 by Mr. Rustomji H. Kharshedji. I know, that at that time some doubted, and even now some doubt, whether this song was really composed by Tansen, the contemporary of Akbar. They say, it may have been written by some later songster, in the name of Tansen. Opinions, even of experts, may differ. But then, anyhow, the fact, that it occurs in a manuscript written about 110 years ago, very clearly shows, that it is a very old song, and that it was not composed, as alleged, "by hireling rhymesters a generation or two ago."

---

[1] Blochmann, Âin-i-Âkbari, Vol, I., p. 612. Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 263, l. 7, column 1. میان تانسین — درین هزار سال همچو او نشان ندهند

[2] *Ibid*, note 1.

[3] Badâôni says of him : "This Râm Chand has left no equal behind him for princely generosity. Among his other gifts he gave a *kror* of gold (kror-zar) to the minstrel Miân Tansen in one day. The Miân did not wish to leave the Râjâ, but a guardsman was sent to bring him back." (Elliot, V, p. 539.) از جمله بخششهای او اینکه یک کرور زر بمیان تانسین کلاونت در یک روز بخشیده

Lees and Ahmad Ali's Text, Vol. II., 335, ll. 11-12. Lowe's Tanslations, Vol. II., p. 345.

[4] Blochmann, Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 406, note.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

I had sent a copy of this song to Maharaja Sir Surendro Mohun Tagore Bahadur of Calcutta, who is well known as a great authority on music in India, and asked his opinion as to "whether there is any reason to doubt the authenticity of its being a song by Tansen." In reply to my telegram this morning, requesting his opinion on the point, he says: "The style and music of this song appear to me as having been composed by Tansen."[1] Sir Surendro Mohun Tagore's opinion then shows that the song is Tansen's. Thus we have the evidence of a contemporary authority to show that Dastur Meherji Rana had gone to the court of king Akbar and influenced the king.

(2) There are other Hindustani and Marâthi khiâls or ballads, which also allude to Dastur Meherji Rana's presence at the court of Akbar. The Hindustani khiâl begins thus:

મેહરજી રાણા બરા નેક થા, પુરાબંદા શાહેબકા,
પાદશાહ અકબર શુધરા પેહના, દેખ તમાશા મજહબકા.

i.e. Meherji Rana was a very virtuous man. He was a perfect servant of God. King Akbar put on the Sudrâh (*i.e.* sacred shirt). Look to the display of the (Zoroastrian) religion.

This ballad is printed in a book[2] called ગાએને દેલચમન *i. e.* "Pleasant Songs," printed in 1867, and so it must have been composed before that date. There is a Marathi song also, but it is not printed in any book.

Thus we see, that the event of Meherji Rana's visit to Akbar's court, is referred to in old songs and ballads, and so it is not hireling rhymsters, as alleged, who have composed them.

The writer of the history of a nation or community, has not to despise old songs and ballads sung in that community. They at times supply him good materials. As M. Mohl says: "*L'histoire de tous les people commence par là, car on conte et l'on chante avant d'écrire, et les premiers historiens n'ont pu fonder leur récits que sur des matériaux pareils.*"[3]

III. Thirdly, it is not old songs and ballads alone that chronicle the fact of Meherji Rana's visit to the court of Akbar. We have the authority of a learned writer, who wrote about 136 years ago, to say that Meherji Rana went to the court of Akbar to explain to him the tenets of the Zoroastrian religion.

---

[1] I have latterly received a letter from the Maharâjâ, giving the same opinion at some length. *Vide* Appendix p. 165. [2] ગાએને દેલચમન શરવે જાતના આએનોના શુગરહની ચોપડી. અંગરેજી તથા ગુજરાતી ભાષા પરીનદીગ છાપખાનું ઇને ૧૮૬૭ ખા. પ૭૪. This song is also printed in રાસેરે મરાહાસ્ત. Vol. II., p. 31. A copy of this book is in the Naosari Meherji Rana Library. (*Vide* Catalogue of 1894. Gujrati list p. 3 No. 74. [3] Le Livre des Rois, Preface, Vol. I., pp. 4-5.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Dastur Shapurji Manockji Sanjana, who lived from 1735 to 1805[1], in his Persian treatise known as Kisseh-i-Âtash Beherâm-i-Naôsâri[2] (قصه آتش بهرام نوساري) *i. e.*, the description of the fire

[1] Parsee Prakâsh I., p. 101.

[2] The name of the treatise as given by the author himself is

قصه آتش وبهرام كه در شهر نوساري نو ساختم

i.e. "An account of the Fire temple which was newly founded in the city of Naosari" (p. 1, l. 3 of Mr. Sorabjee Muncherjee Desai's MS.) There are two MSS. extant of the treatise in the author's own hand. One belongs to Mr. Sorabjee Muncherjee Desai of Naosari and the other to the Dastur Meherji Rana Library of Naosari, to which it was recently presented by the late Dastur Erachji Sorabji Meherji Rana (*vide* the catalogue of the books of Dastur Erachji Sorabji Meherji Rana, presented to the Dastur Meherji Rana library published in 1898, p. 18, No. 7. There it is said of this MS. that શાપુરજી માણેકજી સંજાણાને પોતાને હાથનો લખેલો *i.e.* it was written by Shapoorji Manockji Sunjana, by his own hand). The MS. belonging to Mr. Sorabji Muncherji Desai seems to be the original rough draft of the poem, from which the Dastur seems to have latterly made the fair copy which now belongs to the Meherji Rana Library. Mr. Desai in writing to a friend Mr. Rustomji Bejanji Ranji, through whom he has kindly lent me the manuscript, says "એ શાપુરજી સંજાણાને હાથે લખેલી અને વચ્ચી પેહેલો કરેલો ખરડાજ એ છે." *i.e.* "it is written by Dastur Shapurji Sanjana's own hand, and it is the very first draft." On comparing the above two copies kindly lent to me, I find that they are written by the same hand. One may see a slight difference in the style of some of the letters, but such a difference one must expect on comparing a rough and a fair copy. In the fair copy belonging to the Meherji Rana library, there are no corrections, but in Mr. Desai's MS. we find on almost all pages a number of corrections both over the lines and on the margin. This leads us to conclude that it is the original rough draft MS. of the poem. In this rough MS. between the first portion of the verses which gives an account of the first great fire temple of India, and the second portion, which speaks specially of the great fire temple of Naosari, the author has written, on two pages (pp. 36 and 37) some notes in Gujrati, describing how at the request of Châng âshâ, the sacred fire of the first fire temple was brought into Naosari. In the MS. of the fair copy, the account of the Atashbeharam (fire temple) is preceded by the Saddar-Nazam صد در نظم In both the MSS. the account is divided into two parts, which as described on the first page of the fair MS. of the Dastur Meherji Rana Library are as follow :—

(1) قصهٔ زرتشتيان هندوستان *i.e.* An account of the Zoroastrians of India.

(2) بيان آتشبهرام نوساری *i.e.* An account of the fire-temple of Naosari.

The fair MS. would at first sight appear to one to be incomplete, as some lines (*e.g.* ll. 58 and 69 of the second part relating to the fire temple of Naosari, pp. 39 and 40) are incomplete. But it is not so. The author, having written the first part of a couplet, seems to have thought it better to

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

temple of Naôsâri, thus refers to the visit of Dastur Meherji Rana to the Court of Akbar.[1]

دراین ایّام دستوران دستور ∴ که نام او بود سهراب پُرنور
که نسل اوست از دستور مایار ∴ بدانی باب آن رانا نکوکار
همیشه دین به را جلوه داده ∴ گنهگاران نگونسر شد زیاده
بنزدیک شه اکبر رفته بود او ∴ بسی برهان دین ظاهر بکرده او
که نام او بهه جاهست ظاهر ∴ مرآن دستور بود او پاک و طاهر

i.e., "At this time there was a chief Dastur. His name was glorious Sohrab. His descent is from Dastur Mâhyâr. Know this, that his (*i.e.*, Mahyar's) father was virtuous Rânâ. He had always given splendour to the good (Zoroastrian) religion. Many sinners were put down by him. He had gone to King Akbar. He had shown many proofs of the religion. His name is known everywhere. He was a holy and pious Dastur."

This book was written in 1135 Yazdajardi (1765 A.D.), because the fire temple of Naôsari, of which it gives a description, was consecrated on *rôz* Sarosh *máh* Ardibehesht 1135 Yazdajardi [2].

بروز آن سروش پاک رهبر ∴ بماه اردیبهشت نیک خوشتر
سنه گر یزدجردي رابدانی ∴ هزار و یکصد و سی پنج خوانی

IV. Fourthly we have two old original documents, which lead to show, that Meherji Rana was specially and formally recognised as the head of the Parsee priesthood of Naôsâri, just after the event of his visit to Akbar's court. I beg to produce those documents. They are dated *rôz* Guâd *mâh* Tir Samvat 1635 (12th March, 1579) and *rôz* Meher *máh* Deh Samvat 1636 (1st September, 1580). By these documents, the Parsee priests of Naôsâri, agreed that Meherji Rana should be entrusted with the work of the proper distribution of the income of

---

transfer the couplet to some other place in the poem. He has done so, but has forgotten to draw his pen over the incomplete couplet to show that he had written it by mistake and had then cancelled it. For example, the incomplete couplets 58 and 69 are transferred to places which make them couplets 70 and 71 respectively.

[1] *Vide* the fair MS. of the Meherji Rana library, ll. 20-24 of the *Kisseh*, referring to the fire temple of Naosari, p. 36. Mr. S. M. Desai's rough MS., p. 40. The recent MS. of Mr. Framjee Nowrojee Kutar, p, 8.

[2] Naosari Meherji Rana Library MS., l. 211, p. 49, ll. 9-10. Mr. Kutar's MS., p. 19, ll. 10-11. S. M. Deesai's MS., p. 54, ll. 2 and 3.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the Agiâry (fire-temple), and that all ceremonies should be performed with his permission, &c. They thus formally acknowledged Meherji Rana as their head. I give in the appendix the literal translation of the documents [1].

Of course, these documents do not say that Meherji Rana was appointed head for such and such services. But we must bear in mind, that even nowadays, when people appoint somebody at the head of their society or institution, on account of his status, social position, and past services, they do not always say in the resolution of the appointment, that he is appointed for such and such past public services. These two agreements show, that the priests of Naosâri acknowledged, in the years 1579 and 1580, Meherji Rana as their head. Let us note here, that the years of the principal religious discussions at the Ibâdât-Khâneh in which the Naôsâri Parsees took part, and after which Akbar openly accepted the Parsee forms of worship, &c., were 1576 to 1579. So the date of the first document acknowledging Meherji Rana as their head, corresponds with the date when the principal religious discussions had closed. Badâoni mentions the event of the coming of the Naôsâri priests as a past event under the events of the year 986 Hijri, *i. e.*, 1578-79. The Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind also, places the event of the Parsees bringing about a change in the mind of Akbar, in about 986 Hijri.

This fact then supports the tradition, that Meherji Rana was acknowledged by the Parsee priests of Naôsâri, as their head, on account of some of his services in the cause of Parsee religion at the court of Akbar. It seems, therefore, that immediately on Meherji Rana's return from the court, the priesthood of Naôsâri formally appointed him their head, to settle all questions about sacerdotal affairs and sacerdotal fees. He was already their leader, but they now formally appointed him and acknowledged him as such. The date also tallies with the date given by Abul Fazl in his Akbarnameh,[2] as that, at which Zoroastrians were present in the court of Akbar.

Professor Darmesteter says on this point :—

" Les Mobeds originaires de Nausâri, c'est-à-dire l'immense majorité de la famille sacerdotale, reconnaissent un *Dastûr des Dastûrs*,

[1] *Vide* Appendix for the photo-litho facsimiles of these two documents. *Vide* pp. 147-48.

[2] Calcutta edition of Abdur Rahim, Vol. III., pp. 252-53 ; Elliot, Vol. VI., p. 59.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

frêle image du Maubadân Maubad des anciens temps. La dignité est héréditaire depuis 1579 dans la famille de Mihirjirana, Mobed célèbre du temps d'Akbar, qui avait gagné une grande influence auprés de l'empereur et l'avait initié aux doctrines du Parsisme."[1]

Mr. Dosabbhoy Framjee, in his history of the Parsees, refers to this matter, and says :—

"By his piety, learning, and irreproachable character, he not only gained the esteem of his fellow-countrymen, but his fame spread far and wide, even to the ears of the Emperor Akbar the Great, and he was summoned by that wise ruler to Delhi, that he might explain to him the tenets of the Parsee religion. It is said that the emperor was favourably impressed with the religion of Zoroaster, and bestowed upon the "dastur" a free grant of two hundred acres of land at Naôsâri, as a mark of his royal favour."[2]

Mr. B. M. Malabari, in his "Gujarat and the Gujaratis," says: "The Dustoor in India was a beneficent power even in Akbar's time. Those who have read of the Meherji Rana need not take the account for a mere rhapsody." (2nd edition, p. 177.)

There is a third writing, that leads to show, that Meherji Rana continued to be acknowledged as their head. It is the copy of a letter, addressed by a prominent Parsee priest, Asdin Kâkâ of Naôsâri, to the laymen of Div in Kathiawâr, which was then a Parsee colony. It is dated *Samvat* 1646, *i.e.*, 1590 A.D. Therein also, Meherji Rana is referred to, as the head of the community. I produce a very old copy of the letter.[3]

V.—Fifthly, among the Parsees, there is a particular mode of commemorating the names of their departed worthies, who have rendered eminent services to the community. I quote from my paper, "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees, their Origin and Explanation," (pp. 30-31.) (*Vide* Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. II., No. 7, pp. 434-435.)

"The Parsees have another custom of commemorating the name of a deceased person, if he be a great public benefactor. At the conclusion of the above Oothumna ceremony on the third day, the head

[1] Le Zend Avesta, par Darmesteter, Vol. I., Introduction III., p. LVI.

[2] History of the Parsis, by Dosabbhoy Framji Karaka, C.S.I., Vol. II., p. 3.

[3] *Vide* Appendix for the photo-litho facsimile—*Vide* Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 9, and below, pp. 162-63.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

priest generally, or, in his absence, an *akábar* (اکابر), *i.e.*, a leader of the community, proposes before the assembled Anjuman, *i.e.*, the public assembly, that the name of the deceased public benefactor, whose benefactions or good deeds he enumerates, be commemorated by the community consenting to remember the name of the deceased in all the public Oothumna religious ceremonies. This proposal is sometimes seconded by somebody, or very often it is just placed before the assembly without any formal seconding. When nobody opposes that proposal, silence is taken as consent, and thenceforth the name of the deceased is recited in all public religious ceremonies."

Now the name of Dastur Meherji Rana is thus commemorated in Naôsâri as that of a great departed worthy. It is not oral tradition alone, that has brought down his name as one of the departed great men, worthy to be commemorated in the religious prayers, but his name is put down as such, in old manuscript books of prayers, where, after the names of the ancient worthies of old Irân, we find his name commemorated. I beg to produce before the Society an old manuscript prayer-book where Dastur Meherji Rana's name is thus commemorated.

The manuscript prayer-book, which I produce, is one written on day Din, month Asfandârmad of the Yazdajirdi year 1078 (*i.e.*, 1709 A.D.). It is therefore 192 years old. It is written by Herbad Jamshed, son of Kaikobad, son of Jamshed.[1]

In this manuscript prayer-book, in the commemoration prayer, known as Nirang-i-bui-dâdan (ایرنگ بوی دادن) we first find the name of some eminent men of ancient Irân, and then the names of some of the departed worthies of India. In the latter list we find the name of Dastur Meherji Rana thus commemorated.[2]

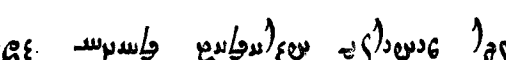
---

[1] It is a large work of 438 folios or 876 pages. The colophon, which gives the name of the writer and the date in Persian, occurs on f. 363*a*, l. 12. It is lent to me by Mr. Manookjee Rustomjee Unwala. The colophon runs thus:—

فرجبد بدرود شادي و رامشني بروز مبارک دين و بماه مبارک
سفندار مد و بگاه باون فرزانه و سال اوريک هزار هفتاد و هشت از
شهنشاه يزدجرد شهريار ساسان تخمه خجسته بشهر ايران کاتبلحروف
من خادم دين بنده پير به جمشيد ين کيقباد ابن جمشيد

[2] Folio 60 *b*, l. 4.

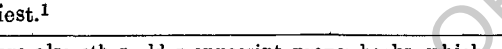
NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA



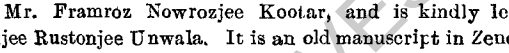
i.e., May Dastur Meherji (son of) Hervad Vâchhâ, of pious soul, be remembered here.

We thus find, that in a prayer-book, written 192 years ago, the name of Dastur Meherji Rana has been commemorated as that of a great man. That must be for some good services to his community. These services were those at the Court of Akbar in favour of Parsee religion. Anyhow this old manuscript shows that he was not an obscure priest.[1]

[1] There are also other old manuscript prayer-books which contain the Nirang-i-bui-dâdan prayer in which Dastur Meherji Rana's name is commemorated. Two such manuscripts have been kindly lent to me. One of these belongs to Mr. Framroz Nowrozjee Kootar, and is kindly lent to me by Mr. Manockjee Rustonjee Unwala. It is an old manuscript in Zend characters, but its colophon is lost with some of its lost folios. In this MS. (f. 121*b*, ll. 3—5) we find the name of Dastur Meherji Rana commemorated as one of the departed worthies as follows :—



It is a manuscript of 151 folios, out of which folios 68, 69 and folios 73 to 86 are missing. It begins with Zend characters and Yathâ and Ashem, and contains the five *niyâshes* and some of the *Yashts*, *Afringâns* and *Afrins*. The last folio gives at the bottom the following heading for an *Afrin* :—



and then gives the word as the catchword for the next folio which, with the remaining folios, is lost.

Now though the colophon is unfortunately lost, the manuscript from its characters and paper appears, in the opinion of Mr. Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria, a fortunate possessor of many old manuscripts, to be at least 75 years old.

The second MS. which I wish to refer to is written in Guzrati characters. It belonged to the late Mr. Nanabhoy Dhunjeebhoy Banajee, of Bombay, and has been kindly lent to me by Ervad Nusserwanji Burjorji Desai. It is about 77 years old, being written in 1824 A.D. by Mobed Sorabjee Pestonjee Koyabhoy Sorabjee, a priest of the town of Suvali, near Surat, at the desire of Behedin Kerbadjee Sohrabjee Kadvajee, a layman of the town of Broach. It is a large manuscript of 407 folios; some folios by another writer have been subsequently added in front and back of this MS., while binding it in its present condition.

સંવત ૧૮૮૧ તાં વરષે ફરતગ શુદ ૬ વાર ખુરષે શને ૧૧૯૪ ઈજ્જદ જુરદી શેજ્જ મુતાબક ૨૫ મીનો ભરસા યાવંગ માહા મુતાબક ૧ ફરેાખ ફરઅરદીન માહ રપાયવેન રાજા સાલેવાનો યાકે ૧૭૪૬ તારીખ ૨૮

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

We have so far examined, at some length, the direct evidences in (1) Badaoni's Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh and (2) the Dabistân, and the indirect references, (3) in Abul Fazl's Akbar-nâmeh, (4) in the Farhang-i-Jehangiri, and (5) in the Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind, which clearly prove that it was the Naôsâri priests, who influenced Akbar, and explained to him the Zoroastrian forms of worship, and that Ardeshir came to India after the event.

અખતોબર શને ૧૮૨૪ અંગરેજી નારોજ દરીઆઈ ૫૧ મો એ દીને જુરદેહે અવશાતાનુ દફતર તમામ શમપુરણ કીધુમે. એનું લખનાર આકશાર કમતરીન મોબેદ શોરાબજી ગુ૦ બી૦ એ. પેશાતનજી ગુ૦ બી૦ એ. કુર્દઅ ભાઈ બી૦ એ૦ શુરાબજી લખમે રેવાશી શ્રી સુવાલી બંદરનાએ લખી તમામ કીધી છે તે ફરતાં અશલ આકક નકલ કીધી છે મગર ભૂલ ચુક હુએ તો મેરબાનગીથી દરશાત કરવી શમારવી શાહી * * કરમાઈશ કરદન લખનાર નેકનામ નેક શરજમ નેક ખશલત જુવાંહુલત આહાલી હીમત બુલંદ શખાબદ બેદેહીનાત બેદેહીન, શ્રી ૫ બેદેહી કેરબાનજી ગુ૦ બી૦ શુહેશબજી બી૦ કડબાજી અટકે નાગોરે લખમે રેવાશી શ્રીકશાબે ભરચબ બદરનાએ લખાવી છે. ખાશ પોતાની ઉમેદે પઢવા તા૦ પઢવવાને શારૂ ખાશ પોતાનો જર ખાપીને લખાવી છે. એ કેતાબ જે કોઈ ચોરે તા૦ ચોરાવે તા૦ લઈજાએને ઓરવે તે શ્રી યઝદાર અહુરમઝદનુ ચોર થાએ અને તે ઉપર હમેશા લેઆનત હોજો ને લેઆનત માંહાં ગેરફતાર હોજો. એહુનબાદ એહુનતરજ બાદ. તમામશુદ નજમ તમામશુદ.

The writer says in the above colophon તે કરતાં અશલ આકક નકલ કીધી છે *i.e.*, "it has been exactly copied from another original." So the name of Dastur Meherji Rana must have been recorded in the original, of which this was a copy, and which original must, therefore, have been written long before 1824 A.D.

The prayer of Nirang-i-bui-dâdan is written on folios 40 to 43 of this manuscript, and the name of Dastur Meherji Rana is commemorated on folio 43*a*, l. 2, as દસતુર મેહરજી એરવદ વાછા એદરીબાદ બાદ અનુરોહ રવાં રવાની.

Now the fact of Dastur Meherji Rana's name being commemorated in the prayer of Nirang-i-bui-dâdan, in a manuscript prayer-book written by a priest of Surat, for a layman of Broach, is very significant in itself. It shows that Dastur Meherji Rana's name and fame were not confined to Naôsâri itself, but were known much beyond that town. This manuscript which is about 77 years old, and which, as its writer says, is an exact copy of an older manuscript, clearly proves that. Again, the fact, that the name of Dastur Meherji Rana is still commemorated in prayers in Broach confirms this view. Khan Bahadur Adarjee Muncherjee Dalal, B.A., one of the Trustees of the Parsee Punchayet of Broach, in a letter, dated 17th November 1901, in reply to my inquiry, says, "the name of Meherji Rana is taken in our આફરીન અને પુપ નીરંગ prayers as under. "દસતુર મેહરજી એરવદ વાછા" before the name of દસતુર અસપંદીઆર દસતુર કામદીનજી" (Dastur Aspandyâr Kamdin was a learned high-priest of Broach. He was the author of the book કદીમ તારીખ પારસીઓની કમર referred to above (p. 28).)

As to why Dastur Meherji Rana's name is commemorated in prayers in Broach, Khân Bâhadur Adarjee says, that it is not authoritatively known, but the Mobeds say, "that it was in consideration of his high scholarship and his fame in the court of Emperor Akbar." He adds: "It will be noted that his name is recited just after the name of અરદેશર બાબેગાન (Ardeshir Babegân, Artaxerxes I of the Greeks) and just above that of દસતુર અસપંદીઆરજી દસતુર કામદીનજી" (Aspandyârji Kâmdinji).

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

We have also examined, at some length, the evidences and facts based upon (1) the original documents about the grant of land by king Akbar, (2) an old song of Tansen, a contemporary of Akbar, (3) Dastur Shapurjee Sanjana's book written in A. D. 1765, (4) three old documents, (5) and the book of prayer written in A. D. 1710, which lead to show, that it was Dastur Meherji Rana, who, as the leader of the Naôsâri Parsees, explained to Akbar, the religion of Zoroaster.

III.

We will now examine the objections that have been raised (I) to the mission of the Naôsâri priests in general, and (II) to that of Dastur Meherji Rana in particular.

(I) Two objections have been raised against the capability of the Naôsâri mission; (1) *firstly*, that the Parsees of Gujerat were ignorant at the time, and so were not capable of taking any part in the discussions at the court of Akbar; (2) *secondly*, that Naôsâri itself, was a town in a corner of Gujerat, and was not in a position to produce capable men to explain to king Akbar the religion of Zoroaster.

1. It is said: "The state of the Parsees of Guzerat at those times abundantly confirms this inference, that none of them could have possessed the requisite ability to take any part in the learned and philosophic discussions of the Ibadat-khana." [1]

(*a*) Drs. West[2] and Geldner[3] and Professor Hodiwâlâ[3] have shown, elsewhere, that there was no such general ignorance, as that which is attributed.

(*b*) But it appears that the state of the Zoroastrians of Persia, was not after all much better than that of the Zoroastrians of India. It is said, of the Zoroastrians of India, "We have some historical records which prove clearly that their standard of knowledge was very low, and that there was no man among them of even ordinary learning. They were a down-trodden people among unsympathetic aliens, entirely absorbed in obtaining a decent livelihood." [4] If that was true of the Zoroastrians of India, it was not less true of the Zoroastrians of Persia. The Zoroastrians of Persia lived among

---

[1] Mr. Karkaria. Journal of the B. B. R. Asiatic Society, Vol. XIX., No. LIII., p. 247.

[2] *Vide Jam-i-Jamshed* of 24th September 1898. *Vide* Appendix pp. 165-66 for extracts.

[3] *Vide* Letters to the *Bombay Gazette* in October and November 1896.

[4] Mr. Karkaria. Journal of the B. B. R. Asiatic Society, Vol. XIX., No. LIII., p. 297.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

aliens more unsympathetic than those among whom their co-religionists in India lived. Owing to this want of sympathy, their number in Persia went on diminishing, while that in India went on increasing.

In the very letter sent to India from Persia in 1478 through Nariman Hoshang, on whose authority the above statement is made, we have a passage in which the Zoroastrians of Persia deplore their fall in religious matters as much as they do that of their co-religionists in India. The passage runs thus:

بدانند که در روزگاری که گذشته است از کیومرث تا امروز هیچ روزگار سخت‌تر و دشوارتر ازین هزار سر هیشم نبوده است و نه از دور ضحاک [2] تازی و نه افرسیاک و نه تور جادو و نه اسکندر یونانی که دادار اورمزد میگوید که این کسان گران گناه‌تر اند و ازین هزاره سرکه اورمزد گفته است که هشتصد و چهل و هفت سال که گذشته است پشترین روزگار بتر نبوده است اما بهدین درین زمانه کار کرفه کردن وراه اورمزد دسترس اندک است و نیرنک و برسم و یوزداثرگری و پاکی و پلیدی هم اندکي بجای مانده است و باقی از دست افتاده است چه از ایران و هندوستان همه بسیار پاکي و پلیدي ره و رسم است

(Bombay University MS. of Darâb Hormazdyâr's Revayet, vol. I., f. 11*b*, ll. 1—7. Letter brought by Nariman Hoshang. The MS. of Barjo Kamdin's Revayet in the Mulla Firoz library, p. 336, ll. 7—16, MS. No. 2, VII., in Rehatsek's catalogue, p. 178.)

Translation.—They may know, that during the time that has passed, since (the time of) Kayômars up to this day, no time—neither in the time of Zohâk the Arab, nor in that of Afrâsiâk (Afrâsiâb), nor in that of Tûr, the magician, nor in that of Alexander the Greek, of whom Oharmazd the Creator has said that those persons were great sinners—has been more hard and troublesome than this end of the millennium of Aêsham (the demon). And previous[2] times have not been worse than this millennium, of which Oharmazd has spoken, and of which 847[3] years have passed away. But during these times, the Behedins resort very little to works of righteousness and to the path of God; and very little of *nirang* and *barsam* and Yaôzdâçragiri

[1] Corrected according to the copy of Mulla Firoz library. B. U. (Bombay University MS.) has تازی

[2] Reading peshtarin. If read pashtarin "the most ignoble."

[3] This number of years (847) also gives the Yazdajardi date, when this letter was written.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

(*i.e.* performance of religious services) and of purity and impurity, has remained. The rest has fallen away from our hands both in Irân and in Hindustân. Many rules both of purity and impurity are in vogue.

Herein the writers from Persia complain, that the Behedins of the time are less after works of righteousness, and that there is very little of the religious observances of the *nirang*, *barsam*, and *Yaozdâçragiri*. They clearly say that the same is the case *both in India and Persia*. (چه از ایران و هندوستان). We thus see from the very Revâyet from Persia referred to as pointing to a poor state of religious knowledge in India, that the state of the Zoroastrians of Persia was in no way better than that of the Zoroastrians of India.

Again, in the second letter brought by the same Nariman Hoshang in 850 Yazdajardi (1481 A.D.), they similarly deplore their own condition.

این ضعفان چهار کس پنج کس هستند که اندر خط پهلوي راه میدانند فاما آنچه اصل است یافت نمیشود از سبب آنکه بداد و ستد روزگار وتن و جامه آلوده شده اند

(Bombay University MS. of Dârâb Hormazdyar's Revayet, vol. I., f. 13*b*, ll. 6-7.)

Translation.—Among us poor persons, there are four or five persons who know their way in Pahlavi writing. But what is original is not known, for this reason that owing to oppression[1] and tyranny,[2] our fortunes, bodies and clothes have all been contaminated.

Thus we see that the position of the Zoroastrians of Persia at that time was not very enviable. Of course, being in their ancestral land, they had the advantages of having some of the old Zoroastrian books in their possession and of carrying on some of the old traditions of their community; but then, on the other hand, they were still under the iron grip of their Mahomedan rulers, under whom their number gradually diminished by conversion. It is true, that the Zoroastrians of India received from Persia explanations of some of their questions, but the mere fact that they asked for information from Persia, does not prove that they were, as alleged, [3] altogether ignorant of the principles of their religion, and were not capable to explain those principles to their ruling monarch. Why, even now, several Parsees,

[1] داد lamentation under oppression. [2] Lit. ستد taking.

[3] Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIX., No. LIII., p. 297.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

in case of difference of opinion or in case of controversial questions, or even in ordinary matters, address questions to scholars—to Christian scholars—in Europe and America. But that fact should not lead one, centuries after to-day, to conclude that the Parsees of India in the 19th and 20th centuries were altogether ignorant of their religion, and were not capable to understand or explain to others, their own religion. Sir James Campbell takes a similar view of the questions sent to Persia in the 16th and 17th centuries. He says the questions sent to Persia were on "doubtful points of religious practice" (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII., Thana, Part I., p. 254). Dr. West takes a somewhat similar view (*vide* Appendix, p. 166).

(c) But we have other contemporary authority, to show, that during that time one had not always to go to Persia, to seek knowledge on Zoroastrianism. There were Mobeds in India, who could impart knowledge to seekers after truth. The other authority I refer to, is Abul Fazl, the minister of Akbar.

We find from the table of dates given above, that Abul Fazl appeared at the court in 1574. His father, Shaikh Mubârak, was of the Mâhdawi sect. He had attached himself to the religious movement, which had first begun in 900 Hijri, and which was suggested by the approach of the first millennium of Islam, when Imâm Mâhdi was to appear. Abul Fazl also belonged to the sect, to which his father belonged. Mubârak was persecuted for his Mâhdawî views and for his liberal tendency. As Blochmann says: "The persecutions which Shaikh Mubârak had to suffer for his Mahdawî leanings at the hands of the learned at Court, did not fail to make a lasting impression on his (Abul Fazl's) young mind. . . . . The same pressure of circumstances stimulated him to unusual exertions in studying, which subsequently enabled him during the religious discussions at Court to lead the opposition and overthrow by superior learning and broader sentiments, the clique of the Ulamâs whom Akbar hated so much." [1] About this study referred to above, Abul Fazl himself says in his Akbar-nâmeh.

"My mind had no rest, and my heart felt itself drawn to the sages of Mongolia[2] or to the hermits on Lebanon ; I longed for interviews with the lamas of Tibet or with the pâdrîs of Portugal, and

[1] Blochmann, Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. I., Introduction, pp. x.-xi.

[2] Lit. boundary of Khata, a province in Northern China.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

I would gladly sit with the priests of the Pârsîs and the learned of the Zend Avesta."[1]

Abul Fazl here describes his state of mind and his course of study at the time of his introduction to the Court of Akbar, which was in 1574 A.D.

Now then, if there was such a general ignorance, as alleged, among Indian Parsees, that none could explain their religion to king Akbar, who were the priests (*mobeds*) of the Parsees and the learned of the Zend Avesta, whose interviews Abul Fazl sought, in and before 1574 for gaining knowledge in religious subjects? They cannot be Ardeshir and his suite, because they came after 1592 A.D.

(*d*) But, for the sake of argument, take for granted, that the state of the Parsees of Guzerat at those times generally was not good. But that does not show, that there were not individual members here and there, head and shoulders above the common class of men. The mass may be ignorant, but there may be individual members, at least capable to explain to the ruling monarch the tenets of the Zoroastrian religion.

2. In this controversy, Naôsâri is spoken of as a town in "a corner of Guzerat," and as such, it is supposed not to be capable to produce men, who could explain their religion to Akbar.

(*A*) But it appears both from the Tabakât-i-Akbari of Nizamuddin Ahmad and the Akbar-nâmeh of Abul Fazl, that it was a town of some

---

[1] Blochmann. Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. I., Introduction, p. xii. This passage is quoted in the notes to Akbar's Dream by Tennyson. (*Vide* The Complete Works of Tennyson, published by MacMillan and Co., 1894 (p. 845). The following is the original Persian text of the above passage :—

شورستان خاطر مرا علاج مفید نمی آمد گاه دل بصحبت دانایان
خطهٔ خطا کشیدی—و گاه بمرتاضان کوه لبنان خاطر را میل پدید
آمدی گاه شوق بمزبانئ جوگیان تبت آرام گسل گشتی و گاه بمنفسئی
پادریان پرتکال دامن عزیمتم گرفتي و گاه بمنشینئ موبدان فارس
و رموز دانئی ژنه واستا شکیب ربای خاطر شدی

Akbar-námah, edited for the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Abd-ur-Rahims, Vol. III., p. 84, ll. 10-13.)

"Et j'aurais aussi volontiers abordé les prêtres des Parsis et les théologien du Zend Avesta." L'Empereur Akbar, par le Comte F. A. De Noer, traduit de l'Allemand, par G. B. Maury, Vol. I., p. 305.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

importance. In the time of Akbar's father, Humâyûn, one of the nobles of Sultan Bâhâdûr of Guzerât, who was fighting against Humâyûn had "prepared a fortified position in the neighbourhood of Nausârî . . . . He took possession of Nausârî and . . . marched against Broach."[1] According to Abul Fazl also, "Khân Jahân Shîrâzî and Rûmî Khân, whose name was Safar, and who was the builder of the fort of Surat, operated in concert. They took possession of Nausârî, which was held by Abdu-lla Khân, an officer of Husain Khân, and he retired to Broach."[2] Being so close to Surat, an important city of Guzerat, Naôsâri could not long remain unknown. Akbar was at Surat, and so the town of Naôsâri close to it, may have drawn his attention also.

From the Âin-i-Akbari[3], we learn, that out of the 31 Mahâls of the Sarkâr of Surat, it was 19th in point of area, as well as 19th in point of the revenue it brought to the State. Its area was 17,353 bighas and its revenue was 297,720 dâms. It was known for a "manufactory of perfumed oil found nowhere else."

(B) Even taking it for granted, that Naôsâri was in a mere corner of Guzerat and not well-known, the very fact, that Badâôni, the contemporary historian of Akbar, while speaking of the Zoroastrians, who came to the court of Akbar to take part in the religious discussions, mentions the town by name, and says that the Parsees were from Naôsâri, shows that he attached importance to Naôsâri, at least as a town which could send capable Parsees to the meetings of the Ibâdat Khâneh of Akbar. Surat, Rânder, Broach Aukleshwar and Khambayet (Cambay) were well-known as Parsee towns. Out of these, he names Naôsâri, as *the* town sending Parsees to the court of Akbar. If any Parsees from Persia had come to the Court, Badâôni would have mentioned that fact.

Out of the different Parsee towns, named above, Raner or Rander in the immediate vicinity of Surat, is specially mentioned by Abul Fazl, in his Ain-i-Akbari, as a town of the Parsees. He says (Calc. Text, Vol. I., p. 488, ll. 2 and 3). و زردشتي کيش از فارس

[1] Tabakât-i-Akbari. Munshi Newul-Kishore's lithographed edition of 1875 A. D., p. 198, ll. 21-23, Elliot's History of India, Vol. V., p. 197.

[2] Akbar-nâmah, Bengal Asiatic Society's ed. by Abd-ur-Rahim, Vol. I., p. 142, ll. 20-21, Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI., p. 15.

[3] Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann's edition, Vol. I., p. 498, l. 13, Column 1., Col. Jarrett's translation, Vol. II., p. 257.

(روغن خوشبو آنچا سازند که در هیچ جا نشود)

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

آمدهٔ بنگاه ساختهٔ انه ژند و پاژند بر خوانند و دخمها بر سازند *i.e.*, "The followers of Zoroaster coming from Persia, settled here. They follow[1] the teaching of the Zend and the Pâzend and erect funeral structures." (Jarrett's Translation, Vol. II., p. 243.) Thus, though according to Abul Fazl, Rander was specially known as a colony of the Parsees, according to Badâôni, and the author of the Dabistan, it was the Naôsâri Parsees, who were invited at the religious discussions of the Ibâdat Khaneh. This fact in itself is very significant. It shows that Naôsâri was looked at, as an important town, as far as learning and religious knowledge of Parseeism was concerned.

(C) But there is another very important fact, which shows, that Naôsâri was then well-known as the principal centre of Parsee priests. It is, that when the Zoroastrian priests of Persia addressed their replies to the questions from India, they put down the name of Naôsâri and the names of its leading priests first, and then the names of other towns and their priests. We find this from several Revayets.

(*a*) In the Revayet from Irân, dated *rôz* Khorshed *mah* Abân 847 Yazdajardi (25th June 1478)[2], addressed to Changâh Shâh and brought by Nariman Hoshang,[3] the name of Naôsâri is mentioned first, and then the names of Surat, Ankleshwar, Broach and Cambay.

The address runs as follows :—

نام ستایش و یاری دادار اورمزد.....بکام و نام و سایهٔ شادمانی و زندگانی و فیروزی و به روزی کدخدایان و بهدینان پندوستان و سالار شهر نوساری جنگر شاه و باقی اثورنان و ردان و یزدان نساری و دیگر سورت و انکلیسر و بروج و کمبایت (Bomb. Univ. MS.,) Vol. I., f. 11*a*, ll. 13-19).

[1] The word is khânand, which means "They read."

[2] Vol. I. (folio) 13a, l. 2, Bombay University Library MS., which is written by Dârâb Hormazdyâr himself from 20th April to 21st November 1679. *Vide* Dr. West's remarks in the beginning of the MS. p. 1, ll. 15 to 18. This particular portion was written by Dârâb Hormazdyâr on Mêhê (Mohôr) *rôz mah* Deh 1048 Yazdajardi (*i.e.*, 15th August 1679 A.D.) (f. 13a, l. 10). (Mulla Firoz library MS. of Barjo Kâmdin's Revayet, p. 335.)

[3] *Ibid.* f. 13a, l. 7, Parsee Prakash, Vol. I., p. 6.

این کتاب از ایران نریمان هوشنگ بهروچي اورده بود کاتب الحروف من دین بندهٔ داراب بن برمزیار بن فیامدین بن کیقباد لقب سنجانان هرکه خواناد برنویسندهٔ آفرین برساناد روز مه ماه مبارک دي سال یک هزار چهل و هشت از یزدجردي

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

i.e., (By) the name, praise and help of God.....May they (live) in (the enjoyment of) their desire and name and protection and happiness and life and success and good livelihood,—they, the masters of house and the Behedins of Hindustân, and Jangê Shah[1], the chief of the city of Naôsâri and the rest of the Âthôrnâus (*i.e.* priests) and leaders and Herbads of Naôsâri and also of Surat and Anklesar and Broach and Cambay.

(*b*) There is another Revâyet from Sharfâbâd (شرفاباد) in Persia, known as Nariman Hoshang's second Revâyet.[2] It is dated *rôz* Daêpadin *mâh* Daê, eight hundred and fifty[3] (A.D. 1481). It is also addressed to the Parsees of Hindustân, among whom those of Naôsâri are specially mentioned.[4]

(*c*) There is a third Revâyet, dated *rôz* Ormazd, *mâh* Khordâd 880 (A. D. 1511), from Persia,[5] where the Parsees of Naôsâri are addressed before those of Cambay, Broach, Surat and Ankleswar.[6] We do not find the name of the messenger of this Revâyet.

(*d*) There is a fourth Revâyet, known as Shâbôr (Shapûr) Âshâ's Revâyet.[7] It was written in Yezd and dated *rôz* Depâdar *mâh*

[1] Commonly known as Châng âshâh. In the collection of the Revâyets by Burzo Kamdin, we find the name properly written چنگ شاہ. *Vide* Mulla Firoz Library MS. (Rehatsek's Catalogue VII, 2), p. 335, l. 18.

[2] Bombay University Library MS., Dr. West's contents, p. 6, l. 5; Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 6. [3] *Vide* Bombay University MS., Vol. I., folio 13b, ll. 17-18. Mulla Firoz Library MS., Vol. II., p. 504, l. 3. Dr. West and Mr. Patel give 855. I think Dr. West is guided by the reading of Mr. Patel, because the Bombay University MS., which he follows, gives 850. The passage of the date runs as follows in the Bombay University MS., (f. 13b, ll. 17-18)

فرجبد بدرود شادی و رامشنی اندر روز دیپدین و ماه دی سال پشتصد و پنجاه پس از تاریخ یزدگرد شهریار نبشته شد بجانب دستوران و ردان و بیربدان و حکیمان و فرزانکان انجمن هندوستان

† پس for پس *i.e.* after the date of Yazdajardi. (*Vide* Dr. West's remark, p. 6, l. 4.)

[4] *Ibid*, folio 13a, l. 16-17. بجانب بیربدان و بهدینان و پیشوایان و کد خدایان هندوستان و ساکن قصبهٔ نوساری Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 6.

[5] *Ibid*, f. 16*a*, ll. 1 and 2 on the margin. Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 6.

[6] *Ibid*, folio 15*a*, ll. 9 and 10. Mulla Firoz Library MS., Vol. II., p. 508, ll. 6-7.

[7] This Revâyet is spoken of in the Parsee Prakâsh (Vol. I., p. 7) as Câmâ Ashâ's Revâyet. (*a*) We have a very old copy of the Revâyet belonging to the Dastur Meherji Rana Library at Naôsâri. (*Vide* the printed catalogue of

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Bahman 896, Yazdajardi (1527 A.D.). Therein also the priests of Naôsâri are addressed first[1] and then those of Cambay.[2]

(*e*) In the fifth Revâyet, brought from Persia, by Aspandyâr Yazdyâr and Rustam, dated *rôz* Khordâd *mâh* Ardibehesht 904 Yazdajardi (1535 A.D.), the priests of Naôsâri are addressed first and then those of Surat and Cambay.[3]

(*f*) The sixth Revâyet is that known as that of Kâûs Kâmdin written in 922 Yazdajardi (1553 A.D.) Therein the priests of Naosari are addressed first and then those of Surat, Ankleshwar, Broach and Cambay. (*Vide* below, p. 64, for particulars.)

(*g*) The seventh Revâyet, which I want to refer to, is that[4] from Turkâbâd in Persia, dated *rôz* Shehrivar *mâh* Farvardin 996[5] (1626 A.D.), brought by Bahman[6] Aspandyâr. It, also, is first addressed

---

the first Dastur Meherji Rana Library printed in 1894. Guzarati catalogue of Zend, Pahlavi, Pazend books, p. 64, No. 28. It is a MS. of 236 folios). *Vide* folio 101*b*, l. 10, for the name of the messenger. (*b*) We have another old, but a little later copy of this Revâyet belonging to Mr. Manockji Rustomji Unwala. It is a MS. of 241 folios. *Vide* folio 119*b*, l. 11, for the name of the messenger. (*c*) We have another old manuscript of this Revâyet belonging to Mr. Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria. Its colophon is lost. It is a MS. of 79 folios.

[1] *Ibid.* Meherji Rana Library MS., folio 1*a*, l. 12. Mr. M. R. Unwala's MS., folio 2*a*, l. 1. Mr. Tehmuras's MS., folio 1*b*, l. 14.

[2] *Ibid*, Meherji Rana Library MS., folio 1*b*, l. 3. Mr. M. R. Unwala's MS., folio 2*a*, l. 9. Mr. Tehmuras's MS., folio 1*b*, l. 21. The passages of the address and dates are quoted and more particulars are given below, pp. 66-67.

[3] Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 8.

[4] Bombay University Library Manuscript of Dârâb Hormazdyâr Revâyet, Vol. I., f. 69*a*, l. 1. Mulla Firoz Library MS., Vol. II., p. 453. For reference first to the priests of Naôsâri and then to those of Surat and Broach, *vide* p. 453, ll. 2 and 4 and 6, respectively. For date, *vide* l. 13. For the name of the messenger, *vide* l. 16. Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 11. [5] *Ibid*, f. 69*b*, l. 21.

این نامه در روز شهریور ماه فروردین سنه ۹۹۶ یزدجردي نوشته شد

[6] *Ibid*, f. 69*a*, l. 19, and f. 70*a*, ll. 2 and 4. The following passage gives some paticulars about the messenger :—

و معلوم دستوران و پیربدان و موبدان و بهدینان کشور هندوستان بوده باشد که بهدین بهمن بن اسفندیار در ایران شهر در ولایت ترکاباد تشریف آورده و چند روزی بخدمت بود و چون براه کشتي و قران دریا آمده بود اورا توچش لازم بود و آنچه قاعدهٔ دین زرتشتي بود اورا توچش فرمودیم قبول کرد و تمام بجاي رسانده و

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

to the priests and the laymen of Naôsâri[1] and then to those of Surat[2] and Broach.[3]

(*h*) The eighth Revâyet is that known as the Revâyet of Bahaman Poonjiêh of Surat, brought from Kirman (این کتابت از کرمان زمین بهدین بهمن پونجیه سورتیه آورده است[4]). It is addressed first to the Dasturs of Naôsâri,[5] and then to those of Surat[6] and Broach.[7] It is dated *rôz* Âdar *máh* Bahman 996 Yazdajardi[8] (A.D. 1627). نوشته شد این رقعه نامه بروز آدر نهم و ماه قدیم بهمن یازدهم ماه الهی سنه۹۹۶ یزدجرد

Thus we have the authority of eight Revâyets from Persia, all written in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to show, that in those times, at least as far as the Parsees were concerned, Naôsâri was not an unknown town in a corner of Gujerat, but

---

اورا برشنوم کردیم و نه شوه داشت و خدمت آب و آتش ها و آتش ور بهرام آنچه قواعده دین بود کرده تا واصح بوده باشد دیکر معلوم بوده باشد که خدمت خاتون بانو پارس که زیارت گاه است هم کرد (*Ibid* f. 69*a*, l. 18 to f. 69*b*. l. 1.) The custom referred to here, that Zoroastrian priests travelling by sea should perform a purificatory ceremony, is an old one. *Cf.* "Neither would his (Vologeses I.) brother Tiridates refuse coming to Rome to receive the Armenian diadem, but that the obligation of his priesthood withheld him (Works of Tacitus, Vol. I., The Annals, Bk. XV. 24. The Oxford translation.) The Ziârat-gâh (a place of pilgrimage) of Khâtûn Bânû, the daughter of the last king Yazdajard, referred to here, sounds strange in the ears of a Zoroastrian, but the statement shows under what kind of Mahomedan influences the Zoroastrians of Persia had fallen. For the story of this lady Khâtun Bânu, *vide* Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 12.

[1] *Ibid*, f. 69*a*, l. 5. [2] *Ibid*, l. 9.

[3] *Ibid*, l. 11.

[4] Bombay University Manuscript of Dârâb Hormazdyâr's Revâyet, f. 65*a*, l. 3. Parsee Prakâsh, vol. I., p. 12. This messenger Bahaman Poonjieh is the same person as Bahman Aspandyâr of the preceding Revâyet. In this Revâyet also at one place he is spoken of as Bahman Aspandyâr.

و التماس فقیران این جانب آنست که گوشهٔ خاطر از بهمن بن اسفندیار دریغ نفرمایند و همه روز اورا حرمت داشته که پسنده ایزد است (*ibid*, f. 65b, l. 6).

Vide Mulla Firoz Library MS., Vol. II., 449. For references first to the priests of Naôsâri and then to those of Surat and Broach, *vide* ibid, ll. 7, 10 and 11 and 13 respectively. For the name of the messenger and for his good services f. 449b., l. 2.

[5] *Ibid*, l. 9. [6] *Ibid*, ll. 12 and 14. [7] *Ibid*, l. 16. [8] *Ibid*, f. 68*b*, l. 20.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

was well known, not only here, but also in Persia, as the centre of Parsee priesthood, and that the Parsees of that town took a good deal of interest in all religious subjects.

II. Against Dastur Meherji Rana personally, the following objections have been raised:—

(1) That he was an obscure priest.

(2) That his name is not mentioned in the histories of Akbar's time.

(3) That tradition attributes to him miracles, which are not referred to at all in the histories of Akbar's time.

(4) That he is reported in traditional songs to have invested Akbar with Sudreh and Kusti, the symbols of Zoroastrianism, which is not possible.

We will now examine these objections.

(1) We will first examine shortly the allegation, that Dastur Meherji Rana was an obscure priest in a corner of Gujerat, and was therefore not capable of taking an active part in the religious discussions and of explaining to Akbar the principles of his religion. I beg to produce (A) several old documents, and (B) several old manuscripts which lead to show, that Dastur Meherji Rana was not an obscure priest, but that he was one of the leading men of Naôsâri.

(A) Firstly, I will produce some old documents.

(*a*) I beg to produce an old copy[1]—not the original itself—of a document dated *rôz* Âdar *mâh* Aspandârmad Samvat 1622 (A. D. 1565-66), wherein Dastur Meherji Rana's name stands first among the signatories.[2] It is a kind of agreement amongst the priests themselves, to perform the religious ceremonies properly and conscientiously, to charge only legitimate fees and not more, and to give all proper account of the professional fees received, etc. Dastur Meherji Rana would not have signed at the top, had he been an ignorant obscure priest, as alleged.

(*b*) I produce an original document,[3] four years later in date. It is a document about 331 years old. It is dated *rôz* Ardibehesht *mâh* Aspandârmad 1626 Samvat, *i.e.* 1570 A. D. It is an agreement

[1] *Vide* appendix for the photo-litho facsimile and pp. 151-153.

[2] Dastur Meherji Rana signs his name as "Mâhiâr Vâchhâ." Mahiâr was his proper name, of which Meherji is the popular rendering. Râna was his own father's name. But as he was adopted by Vâcchâ, he adopted his adoptive father's name. [3] *Vide* appendix for the photo-litho and below pp. 154-55.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

among the Parsee priesthood themselves, to abstain from the drink of toddy, at the time when they were engaged for some days in particular rituals. The toddy of Naôsâri was then, and is even now, as much known in Gujerat, as the beer of Munich is known in Europe. So it was, and is even now, a favourite beverage of the Naôsâri people. But being a little intoxicating, they agreed among themselves not to drink it during those days when they were engaged in certain ceremonies, *e. g.* Bôi-devi (*i. e.* the ceremony of officiating at the Fire-temple). Among the signatories of this document, Dastur Meherji Rana is the first. This would not have been the case, had he been an ignorant obscure priest, as alleged.

(*c*) I produce an original document[1] of three years' later date, *i.e.*, it is about 328 years old. It is dated *rôz* Hormazd, *máh* Shehrivar Samvat 1629, *i.e.* 1572 A.D. It is an agreement signed by some of the leading laymen of Naôsâri, on behalf of the community in favour of Mahiâr Vaccha[1] (Meherji Rana), assigning him, in a place called (પીપલીઆ વાડી) Pipaliâ-wâdi, a piece of ground 10 bighas in area, with 50 palm trees and 100 date trees. This seems to be given to Meherji Rana, as the head of the priests, for religious purposes. They undertake that the land shall be maintained free of taxes.

These three documents, then, show that Dastur Meherji Rana was not an obscure priest, as alleged, but that he was a leading priest, even before his departure to the court of Akbar.

B.—Now we come to old manuscripts.

(*a*) In the Revâyet of Dârâb Hormazdyâr, we have a letter brought from Persia, by Faridun Murzbân. We find it addressed to two Dasturs, the first of whom is Dastur Mâhyâr[2] (Meherji Rana). Judging from the names mentioned, Dr. West thinks it to have been written about 1570 A. D.[3]

[1] *Vide* appendix for the photo-litho facsimile and below pp. 155-58.

[2] University Library Manuscript, Vol. I., f. 16b, l. 10. *Vide* l. 17 for the name as Faridun Marzbân; l. 19 for Fredun's name singly. There the name is written فریدون و مرزبان *i.e.*, Faridun and Murzbân, as if the letter was brought by two persons, but the letter vâv for 'and' seems to be a mistake of the copyist, because later on the messenger is spoken of in the singular number. They say التماس است که از همه طور اورا از کوشهٔ خاطر دریغ نفرمایند (l. 19). Again, later on, the messenger is spoken of singly as Faridun (l. 20). In the references to this letter, the full name seems to have been taken as that of two brothers by mistake. (*Vide* Dr. West's remarks in Vol. I. of the Bombay University Library, p. 3, l. 6.) [3] *Ibid.* Dr. West's remarks attached at the beginning, p. 3, l. 8; p. 6, ll. 14-15.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

I quote the passage from our Bombay University manuscript Revâyet. دستوران دینداران دین اموزگاران دین چاشیداران دین سراینیداران پتت گفتاران نیایش ورزیداران درست اوستاء راست داوران از نیاکان آدرباد بن مارسفندان استوان دین زرا نشتي چو دستور مابیار و دستور بوشنگ را یک صد هزاران درود

It must be noted, that Dr. West[1] says, that this manuscript Revâyet of our University library "is probably the original compilation of Dârâb Hormazyâr Frâmroz Ḳiyâmu-d-din (or Ḳawâmu-d-din) Kai-ḳubâd Hamajiyâr Padam Sanjânah, and contains eleven colophons written in his name and varying in date from 20 April to 21 November 1679, at which latter date the compilation was completed." So it is about 222 years old.

(*b*) In a Revâyet[2] of 922 Yazdajardi (A.D. 1553), addressed to the Dasturs, Herbads and Behdins of Naôsâri,[3] Surat,[4] Anklesar,[5] Broach[6] and Kambâyat[7] (Cambay), by the priests of Persia, we find the name of Dastur Meherji Rana, put at the head of all. It is the Revâyet, known as "Revâyet-i-Kâûs Kâmdîn[8] (1553)."

The commencement of the Revâyet which contains the address runs as follows[9]:—

بدستوران و بیربدان پیشوایان و کدخدایان و بهدینان و مینو نگریداران مانتریداران اشای ورزیداران چون دستوران و کدخدایان بهدینان قصبه نوساری چون دستور مابیار بن واچها دستور بهمن بن چاندا دستور خورشید بهرام .....

The date of the receipt of this Revâyet from Yezd in Persia is given at the end, and runs thus (10):—

از آن تاریخ از یزد آمد ماه بهمن روز بهمن نهصد و بیست و دو ۹۲۲

i.e. month Bahman, day Bahman, 922.

I produce an old copy of this Revâyet belonging to the Dastur Meherji Rana Library of Naôsâri. Some of its folios are missing, and

---

[1] *Ibid.* *Vide* his remarks attached at the beginning of the MS, Vol. I., p. 1, ll. 15-19.

[2] Manuscript belonging to Mr. Manockjee Rustomjee Unwala, pp. 177 to 190. [3] *Ibid*, p. 177, l. 15; p. 178, l. 11. [4] *Ibid*, p. 179, ll. 2 and 5. [5] *Ibid*, p. 179, l. 8. [6] *Ibid*, p. 179, l. 10. [7] *Ibid*, p. 179, l. 13.

[8] *Vide* Bombay University Library Manuscript, Vol. I. Dr. West's contents in the beginning, p. 3, l. 14. *Vide* Mr. Manockji R. Unwala's MS, p. 201, l. 12.

[9] Mr. Maneckji R. Unwala's manuscript of this Revâyet, p. 177, ll. 13-15.

[10] *Ibid*, p. 190, l. 9.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

among them, the one that contains the above date of its receipt. Again, some of the folios are not bound in proper order (*vide* pp. 15 to 22 of this MS. for the Revâyet in question; *vide* p. 15, ll. 7-9, for the address). In the catalogue of the first Dastur Meherji Rana Library published in 1894 in the Gujrati list, p. 65, of Zend, Pahlavi, and Pazend manuscripts this MS. bears No. 30. It is a MS. of 76 pages.

Thus in the above letter, given in the Revâyet, and in the above Revâyet of Kâûs Kâmdîn, we find the name of Dastur Meherji Rana mentioned first among the leading men to whom they are addressed. It is clear, therefore, that he was not an obscure priest, as alleged, but a leading priest.

(*c*) Dastur Dârâb Pâhlan, a learned Dastur of Naôsâri, who lived from 1668 to 1735, and who was the writer of two works[1] on Zoroastrian subjects, refers to Meherji Rana in his Kholaseh-i-Dîn, written about 211 years ago (1690 A.D.) as a Dastur-i-*mihin*, *i.e.*, a great Dastur. While speaking of Dastur Maneck Mehernôsh, he traces his descent from Dastur Meherji Rana, and says[2] :—

زنسل پاکتن مهر یار رانا ∴ که دستور مهین بود او بدنیا

i.e., "He was descended from pious Mâhiâr Rana, who was a great Dastur in the world." Here, then, we have the authority of a writer, more than two centuries old, to show, that Dastur Meherji Rana was not an obscure priest, as alleged, but was a well-known great Dastur.

We have thus seen that, *firstly*, the above three documents, *secondly*, the above two references in the Revâyets, and, *thirdly*, the reference in the Kholaseh-i-Dîn, written about 211 years ago, show that Dastur Meherji Rana was not an obscure priest, as alleged.

Not only was Dastur Meherji Rana the leading priest of his time, but his father Rana Jeshang also was the leading priest. I produce several documentary proofs to show this.

1. The first original old document[3], that I produce, is 382 years old. It is dated *rôz* Bahman *mâh* Bahman *Samvat* 1576 (1520 A.D.).

---

[1] Kholaseh-i-Dîn and Farziât namah.—*Vide* Khan Bahadur Bomanji Byramji Patel's Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 31.

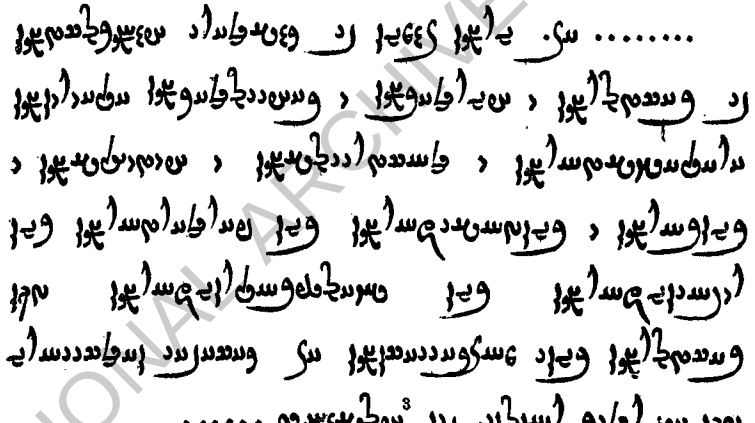
[2] Ervad Manockji Rustomji Unwala's MS. folio 18b, l. 11. It is a MS. 65 years old, being written by Jamshed, son of Manock, son of Rustam on *rôz* Rashnê *mâh* Amardâd 1206 Yazdajardi—(1837 A.D.)—*vide* colophon at the end of the MS. The work was written on rôz 6-6-1059 Yazd, *vide* couplet 732.

[3] *Vide* appendix for the photo-litho and below, pp. 158-161.

It is a document, similar to that, which is above referred to, as subsequently given to Dastur Meherji Rana. By this document, the Parsee laymen of Naôsâri gave to Rana Jeshang, the father of Dastur Meherji Rana, a piece of 10 bigahs of ground with 100 palm trees over it for religious purposes. This document shows, that Rana Jeshang, the father of Dastur Meherji Rana, must be the leader of the Naôsâri Parsees, as the community gave to him the land of the community, for religious purposes.

2. Again in a Revâyet from Persia, that came to India in his time, we find Rana Jeshang's name standing first in the list of persons addressed in the very beginning. This Revâyet was brought from Persia by one Shâpur Asâ[1] in 1527 A.D. I produce three old copies of this Revâyet.

(*a*) The first copy, that I produce, belongs to the Meherji Rana Library of Naôsâri. The passage of the address runs thus[2] :—



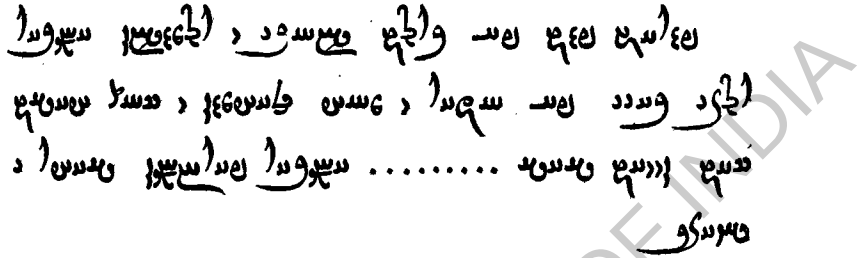
[1] f. 101*b*, ll. 9-10, of Meherji Rana Library Manuscript. *Vide* above pp. 59-60. f. 119*b*, l. 11, of Mr. Manockji R. Unwala's MS.

[2] *Ibid* Meherji Rana Library MS. f. 1*a*, ll. 6 to 14.

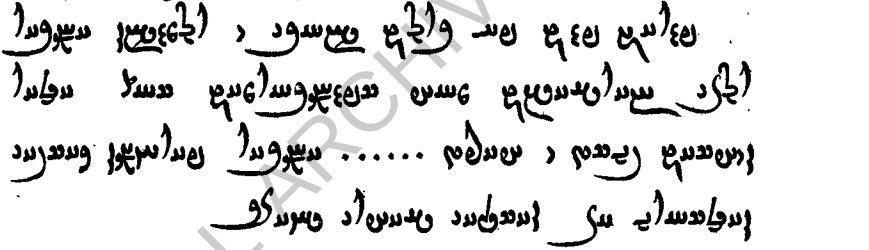
[3] In the copy, the name Jeshang has been written Hoshang. The mistake can be easily explained. The name Jeshang is written in Persian جشنگ The omission of a dot—either omitted to be put or omitted to be read — will make it حشنگ Hoshang. In another old copy belonging to Mr. Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria, the name is properly written

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The Revâyet was written in the city of Yezd on *rôj* Depâdar *mâh* Bahman 896 Yazdajardi (1527 A.D.). The following passage[1] gives the date, when, and the name of the city, where, it was first written.



(*b*) The second copy, which I produce, belongs to Mr. Manockjee Rustomjee Unwala.[2] It is a copy made on *rôz* Khorshed *mâh* Spendârmad in 927 Yazdajardi (1558-59) at Naôsâri from the copy of Yezd (az naskha-i-sheher-i yezd). The following passage[3] gives the date, when, and the place, where, it was written.



(*c*) The third copy, that I produce, belongs to Mr. Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria of Bombay. It is an old copy, but unfortunately, its last folio being lost, it bears no date; but the owner, who is the fortunate possessor of many old Parsee manuscripts, believes, from the quality of the paper and the writing, that it is an old copy.[4]

---

[1] Meherji Rana Library manuscript of Shâpur Asa's Revâyêt f. 99a, ll. 5 to 11.

[2] It is a manuscript of 241 folios containing various subjects. For the address, *vide* folios 1, l. 7, to f. 2, l. 2.

[3] *Ibid* folio 116b, ll. 4 to 11.

[4] It is a manuscript of 80 folios. It contains nothing but this Revâyet. On comparing this manuscript with the above-mentioned manuscripts, I find, that the last three or four pages are missing. The passage of the address in this manuscript (folio 1, ll. 7 to 15) is the same as the above two manuscripts, except in this, that the name of Dastur Meherji Rana's grandfather Jeshang is properly written.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

We have so far seen then, that not only was Dastur Meherji Rana not an obscure priest, as alleged, but that it appears, from an original old document, and from a Revâyet written in Yezd in 1527 A.D., that even his father Rana Jeshang was well known as a leader of the Naôsâri priests.

Rana Jeshang was well versed in Pazend and Persian. That is proved by the fact that we have two manuscripts of copies by his own hand of two well-known Pazend and Persian books.[1]

2. The second objection against Dastur Meherji Rana is, that his name is not mentioned in the history of Akbar's time. The fact of a person's name not being mentioned by a contemporary historian, should not always throw a doubt upon that person's existence, acts or influence. For example, Baber does not mention even once the name of his wife Gul-rukh, while he mentions the names of his other wives. As Mrs. Beveridge says, "this may be an omission of the contemporarily obvious." (Humayun-nâmah by Mrs. Beveridge). The fact of the Naôsâri priests' influence over Akbar, is clearly mentioned by Badâôni, the contemporary of Akbar, and even by the writer of the Dabistan, who wrote about 57 years after Badâôni. Still "the fact of his (Dastur Meherji Rana's) having gone to Akbar's court" is doubted "because his name is not mentioned in any historical book[2]" We must bear in mind, that as far as contemporary historians go, even Ardeshir's name is not mentioned by Badâôni, Abul Fazl or Nizamuddin, as having gone to Akbar's court for taking a part in religious discussions. But, if one is justified in doubting the fact of Dastur Meherji Rana's presence at Akbar's court on that ground, he must be prepared to doubt the presence of the representatives of other communities also. For example, as we said above (p. 32), according to Father Catrou, three parties of Christian priests went, one after another, to the court of Delhi. Two of these went later. The first party[3] consisted of Fathers Rodolph Aquaviva, Antony Monserrat, and Francis Henric. The second party consisted of Edward Leiton and Cristophe Vega.[4] The third party consisted of Father Jerome Xavier and Father Emanuel Pinnero.[5]

[1] *Vide* below pp. 169-71.

[2] Journal, Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XIX., No. LIII. p. 296.

[3] History of the Mogul Dynasty, translated from the French of Father Catrou, 1826, p. 105. [4] *Ibid*, p. 126. [5] *Ibid*, p. 127. *Vide* L'Empereur Akbar, par Le Comte de Noer, translated by Maury, Vol. I., pp. 326, 330, 331.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Of these seven Christian priests of the three missions, only one, Father Rodolph, is mentioned by one Mahomedan historian.[1]

He is spoken of, only once in the Akbar-namah, as Padri Radif (پادري رديف).[2] If that is the case, can one be justified in saying, that the above missionaries did not go to the court of Akbar, because their names are not mentioned in the Mahomedan histories? Just as we have the authority of Father Catrou, who wrote in 1708, for the above-mentioned Christian missionaries, so we have the authority of Dastur Shapoorjee Sanjana, who wrote, in 1765, for the mission of Dastur Meherji Rana. If you accept the authority of a writer, other than the Mahomedan historians of Akbar's reign, in the one case, *viz.*, that of the Christian missionaries, you must accept the authority of a writer, other than the Mahomedan historians, in the other case, *viz.*, that of the Parsee Dastur.

3. The third objection raised against Dustur Maherji Rana's mission, is this, that tradition attributes a miracle to him. Folklore has attached to the visit of Meherji Rana a certain miracle, said to have been performed by him at the court of Akbar. A certain Brahmin

---

[1] The Akbar-namah (Calcutta edition of Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. III, p. 577, l. 4 and notes. Elliot (Dawson), Vol. VI., p. 85) speaks of one other priest, Pâdri Farmaliûn (پادري فرمليون which one manuscript writes پادري فرمليون Bâdhari Farmaliûn, and another writes پادري فرملون Pâdri Farmalûn). But he does not seem to have been a member of any religious mission. Abul Fazl says of him: "At this time (the 35th year of Akbar's reign, about 1591 A.D.) Padre Farmaliûn arrived at the Imperial Court from Goa, and was received with much distinction. He was a man of much learning and eloquence. A few intelligent young men were placed under him for instruction, so that provision might be made for securing translations of Greek books and of extending knowledge."—Elliot, VI., p. 85. This passage shows, that he was called for a literary purpose, just as Ardeshir of Kermân was called a year later.

[2] Maulavi Abd-ur-Rahim's Calcutta edition for the Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. III., p. 254, l. 20. The Editor adds a footnote, saying that the name is found رويق Ravik in some MSS. Elliot's MS. gives it Radalf (Elliot's History of India, VI., p. 60). There is one remark of Elliot in connection with this passage, to which I will draw special attention. He says: "Here and in other parts of this chapter, there are in the MSS. long passages which are not printed in the Lucknow edition. Among the rest, that about the Padre" (Elliot, Vol. VI., p. 60, n. 1). Later Mahomedan copyists of books, at times, left off passages, that spoke well of the doings of the personages of other communities.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

is said to have raised in the sky, by the force of his magic, a metallic tray, which resembled a second sun, and which Meherji Rana, by his prayers and incantations, is said to have brought down to the earth. But intelligent men should not allow such stories, attached by later generations to the names of historical persons and events, to throw doubts on those historical persons and events. Many a well-known name in the history of different countries, would not be safe in the hands of later generations, if we allowed such stories to throw doubts upon the historical events of their times. Why! Take the case of Virgil. There is no person, in the past history of the world, round the halo of whose name and fame, so many stories of miracles and magic have been put as those round that of Virgil's name and fame. The tourist in Naples even now, centuries after his time, hears dozens of stories about his miracles and about the magical power of his name. I heard several such stories while travelling there in 1889. But, for all that, we are not prepared to doubt the fact of his influence and his work. But why go further! Take the case of another personage of this very time, and of the very court of king Akbar. According to the Akbar-nameh, the Christian priest at the court, Father Rodolf, in order to convince the disbelievers in the truth of the Holy Gospel, offered to perform the miracle of passing through a furnace of fire with the Gospel in his hand. Here is the passage from the Akbar-nameh on the subject: "Twenty-third year of the Reign, (A.D. 1579).—When the capital was illumined by the return of the Imperial presence, the old regulations came again into operation, and the house of wisdom shone resplendent on Friday nights with the light of holy minds. . . . . *Sûfis*, doctors, preachers, lawyers, *Sunnis*, *Shiâs*, Brahmans, Jains, Buddhists, *Chârbâks*,[1] Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians, and learned men of every belief were gathered together in the royal assembly . . . . . one night the *'Ibadat-khana* was brightened by the presence of Padre Radalf, who for intelligence and wisdom was unrivalled among Christian doctors. Several carping and bigotted men attacked him, and this afforded an opportunity for a display of the calm judgment and justice of the assembly! These men brought forward the old received assertions, and did not attempt to arrive at truth by reasoning. Their statements were torn to pieces, and they

[1] *i.e.*, Hindu materialists, *vide* p. 30, n. 3.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

were nearly put to shame ; and then they began to attack the contradictions in the Gospel, but they could not prove their assertions. With perfect calmness and earnest conviction of the truth, the Padre replied to their arguments, and then he went on to say, 'If these men have such an opinion of our Book, and if they believe the Kûran to be the true word of God, then let a furnace be lighted, and let me with the Gospel in my hand, and the *ûlamâ* with their holy book in their hands, walk into that testing place of truth, and the right will be manifest.' The blackhearted, mean-spirited disputants shrank from this proposal, and answered only with angry words."[1]

Here is the evidence of a contemporary writer, who attributes to the Christian priest a desire to perform a miracle. Well, from the fact of this statement, can we be justified in doubting the historical event of the visit of the Christian priest to the court of Akbar, and of his services to explain his religion to the king ? Of course not. How, then, can we be justified in doubting the historical event of Meherji Rana's visit, and of his influence on Akbar ? In his case, we do not read at all, in any contemporary writer, any statement about his desire to perform a miracle. It is some later tradition, that connects with his name, the performance of a miracle. If we are not justified in doubting the historical event of Father Rodolf's visit and services, on account of his offered miracle, referred to by a historical writer, we are much less justified in doubting the historical event of Meherji Rana's visit and services, on account of the story of a miracle, which is not even alluded to by any book of history.

We must note that there are several versions of the miracle attributed to Father Rudolf. Murray gives the following version : " At length, he (Akbar) sent to inform them, that an opportunity had now offered of fully establishing the superior claims of the Catholic faith ; that a great Mahometan doctor was ready to leap into a furnace with the Alcoran in his hand ; and that, considering the firm confidence they felt in their own system, they would of course have no objection

[1] Akbar-nameh. Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI., pp. 59, 60. Calcutta edition of Asiatic Society, Vol. III., p. 254, l. 20—p. 255. l 5. Badâôni gives another version. He says, that it was a Mahomedan Sheikh, who challenged the Christian priest to perform the ordeal by fire. (The Emperor Akbar's Répudiation of Esllâm, by Rehatsek, p. 46. Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., p. 308. Lees and Ahmed Ali's Text, Vol. II., p. 299, ll. 10-15. Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 191.)

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

to accompany him with the Bible ; when the comparative merit of the two religions would be established in a manner admitting of no dispute. The missionaries paused at this proposition. They represented, that this could by no means be considered a regular mode of deciding a religious controversy ; that they had already held long arguments with the Mollahs, and were ready to maintain one still more formally, holding out some expectation, if that should fail, of having recourse to the fiery trial propounded (Murray's Discoveries and Travels II., p. 91.) This is a version of the Christians. The two well-known contemporary historians of the very time of Akbar, *viz.*, Abul Fazl and Badâôni, differ in their versions. One says that it was the Christian priest who offered to perform the miracle and challenged the Mahomedan priest to do the same, and the other says *vice versâ*. Thus, when in the writings of two well-known historians of king Akbar's own time, some true or probable facts, with which Father Rodolf was connected, have been misinterpreted, misunderstood or exaggerated, there is no wonder, if some similarly true or probable facts, with which Dastur Meherji Rana was connected, have been misinterpreted, misunderstood or exaggerated by tradition in later times. But, as from the fact of some probable events connected with Father Rodolf being so misinterpreted, misunderstood or exaggerated, we are not justified in doubting his mission and influence at the court of king Akbar, so, from the fact of some probable event connected with Dastur Meherji Rana being misinterpreted, misunderstood or exaggerated, we are not justified in doubting his mission and influence at the court of king Akbar.

It is said : "It need hardly be said that, if such a highly improbable, if not impossible, event happened at all, it must have been mentioned and detailed by the writers who are generally very fond of relating the marvellous. Badâôni, who mentions many other so-called miraculous or thaumaturgic feats of *Jogis* and Mahomedan saints, as, for instance, that of the *Anuptalao*, the lake filled with copper coins, does not say a word about this. There is nothing about it in the Dabistan, the other great authority for Akbar's religious history."[1] Well, the fact, that the authentic histories of Akbar's reign, do not mention the so-called miracle, connected with Dastur Meherji Rana's name in later times, should rather go in Dastur Meherji Rana's favour, and *not*

[1] Journal, Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. LIV., No. XIX., p. 293, Mr. Karkaria's paper.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

against him. The fact, that no "highly improbable, if not impossible, event," is connected with Dastur Meherji Rana's name by authentic historians, shows that his services were real and not flimsy.

Dr. West, the well-known Pahlavi scholar, says on this point[1]:—

"That Meherji Rana went to Delhi about 1578, seems well attested by the grant of a Jaghir to him at that time; but the traditional miracle attributed to him is undoubtedly a myth, which no educated Parsee of the present day can really believe (that is, it may be a misunderstanding, or misinterpretation, of some more probable facts). It would be easy to understand that the Parsee's veneration for the sun, would be ridiculed by the other religious disputants; more probably by the Mahomedans and Romish priests than by the Hindus. And what more annoying form of ridicule could be devised than to suggest the ease with which a clever Hindu juggler could produce any number of imitation suns? Such a suggestion, without any attempt to carry it out, would be quite sufficient to produce a myth shortly after Meherji's return to Nausari".

As Dr. West says, it appears, that there may be "some probable facts" at the bottom, and that a myth has subsequently grown round them. Let us examine the myth a little closely, and see if any fact can be traced at the bottom.

(*a*) The story, as given in the song,[2] says, that a Hindu priest, by a sleight of hand, suspended a dish high in the air. This was taken by the king's subjects to be a second sun. Now, as far as the description in the story goes, the thing was a sleight of hand or a trick. The writer of the story says, that the king's subjects took it to be a second sun, and that the dish appeared like a sun. Dastur Meherji Rana possibly saw what the sleight of hand or what the trick was, and he may have exposed it.

Such sleights of hands and tricks and such jugglers were not uncommon in the court of Akbar. We read, that once Akbar

[1] His letter, dated Maple Lodge, Watford, June 10th, 1898, to Mr. Mancherji Palanji Kutar.—*Vide* the *Jam-i-Jamshed* of 24th September 1898.

[2] Cf. the first stanza of the song "મેહેરજી રાંણા બરા નેક થા ડુરા બંદા શાહેબડા" The lines describing the trick or so-called miracle say

(*vide* ગાએને રેલયમન (1867) p. 574).

જગત ધુરને થાલી ઊરાઈ બીર જોરરી ગગનમે
ઊશા થાલીડા સુરજ હુવા દો શુરજ દેખે બાદલમે
દો શુરજ દેખે રઈઅત શારી અમરત હુએ અપને દલમે

himself exposed the trick of a juggler, who said, that he had "the power of disappearing in the midst of a conversation, in the twinkling of an eye, and to re-appear on the other side of the river."[1] Dastur Meherji Rana may have exposed a trick of this kind, and later oral tradition may have exaggerated it into a miracle, though, from the written account of the story, we find, that it seems to be spoken of as a sleight of hand and trick; but from that exaggeration one cannot be justified in doubting the event of his going to Akbar's court and of his influencing the king.

We must bear in mind, that in those times, unusual extraordinary handiwork or skill in some kind of workmanship also, was taken to be a kind of magic. For example, a grandee of the court Mir Fathulla Shirazi once made a windmill which automatically grounded flour. This was taken by people to be magic. The Tabakât-i-Akbari says on this point, "He was also an adept in the secret arts of magic and enchantment. For instance, he made a windmill which produced flour by a self-generated movement." (Elliot V., p. 469.)

(*b*) Again, in connection with this subject of the appearance of a second sun, we must bear in mind, that, apart from the question of a sleight of hand or trick, such a meteorological phenomenon is not rare. All books on Meteorology speak of mock-suns and mock-moons.[2] I quote here, from Buchan's Meteorology, the description of such phenomenon.

"Parhelia and Paraselenæ. At the points of intersection of the circles of the halo, images of the sun or moon generally appear from the light concentrated at these points, the images of the sun being called parhelia (Gr. para, about or near, and hélios the sun) or mock-suns, and those of the moon paraselenæ (Gr. para about or near, and seléné the moon) or mock-moons, which also exhibit the prismatic colours of the halo." (Introductory Text-book of Meteorology, by Alexander Buchan, 1871, p. 193.)

So, perhaps, it is quite possible, that during the time of Dastur Meherji Rana's visit to the court of Akbar, a phenomenon of a mock-sun may have happened. It is quite possible, that Meherji Rana might have said a prayer at the time, not with the view of performing a

[1] Badâoni. Rehatsek. The Emperor Akbar's Repudiation of Esllâm, p 82. Ahmed Ali's Calcutta Edition of Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. II, p. 366, l. 22, to p. 367, l. 12. Lowe's translation of Badâoni, Vol. II, pp. 378-79.

[2] I have referred to them in my book on Meteorology, pp. 303, 304.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

miracle, but in the ordinary way, because it is not unusual even now, among some of the Parsis, to say prayers on the more frequent phenomena of eclipses.[1] A Hindu priest may have attributed that meteorological phenomenon to his power of magic, and Dastur Meherji Rana may have exposed it.

(c) Again, we find from the histories of Akbar's time, that a natural phenomenon of an unusual kind did occur at the time of Dastur Meherji Rana's visit. It was the phenomenon of the appearance of a comet, just at prayer time in the evening. Perhaps the appearance of this brilliant phenomenon, though properly understood by the learned and the intelligent, was misunderstood by the ignorant and the illiterate, and so latterly it was misinterpreted. This phenomenon created a great stir at the court of Akbar. The Tabakât-i-Akbari thus alludes to it :—

" Twenty-third year of the Reign. (A.D. 1578-79.)

The beginning of this year corresponded with Tuesday, the 2nd Muharram, 986 H. (11th March 1578). . . . . .

"At this period, at the time of evening prayer, a comet appeared in the sky towards the east, inclining to the north, and continued very awful for two hours. The opinions of the astrologers was, that the effects would not be felt in Hindûstân, but probably in Khurâsân and Irâk. Shortly afterwards, Shâh Ismail, son of Shâh Tahmâsp Safawî, departed this life, and great troubles arose in Persia."[2]

---

[1] *Vide* my paper on "A Few Ancient Beliefs about Eclipses," read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay on 25th April 1894. (Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay. Vol. III., No. 6, p. 360.)

[2] Elliot's History of India, Vol. V, p. 407. Tabakât-i-Akbari, Munshi Newul Kishore's lithographed edition of 1875 A.D. (1292 Hijri), p. 339, ll, 3-4. Elliot seems to be wrong in translating "a comet appeared in the sky towards the *east*." The words of the text are

ذکر ظاہر شدن دور دانہ درین ایام دروقت نماز شام درطرف عرب مائل بشمال دور دانہ روی آسمان ظاہر شد

Elliot has translated the word عرب *Arab* by "the east." *Arab* does not mean east. It simply means 'Arabia.' So the translation should be: "At this period at the time of evening prayer a comet appeared in the sky towards Arabia, inclining to the north." Now as Arabia is in the west, the words may be translated "towards the west." This translation will then tally with the statements of Badâôni and Abul Fazl, who also say that the comet appeared in the west مغرب

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

As Elliot points out, Badâôni and Abul Fazl also allude to this event. Badâôni places the event in the 22nd year of the reign. (A.D. 1577-78).

و از اتفاقات آنکه در همان سال ستاره ذوذنابه از جانب مغرب پیدا شد ..... و در همان سال خبر رسید که شاه اسمعیل ولد شاه طهماسپ پادشاه عراق را همشیره اش پری جان خانم باتفاق امرا بقتل رسانید ..... و تاثیر ذوذنابه در آن ولایت ظاهر شد و در عراق هرج و مرج عظیم افتاد[1]

Translation. "And among the events of that year was the appearance of a comet in the west. . . . .In this same year news arrived that Shâh Ismâil, son of Shâh Tashmâsp, Emperor of Persia, had been murdered, with the consent of the Amirs, by his own sister Pari Jân Khânam. . . . . And the effect of the comet in that country became manifest, and in Irâq the greatest perturbation resulted."[2]

The Tabakât-i-Akbari of Nizam-ud-din Ahmad places the appearance of the comet in the 23rd year of Akbar's reign, and in the west, but the Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh of Badâôni places it in the 22nd year, and in the west. Abul Fazl in his Akbar-nameh[3] places it in the 22nd year of Akbar's reign, and in the west.

Before coming to the subject of the appearance of the comet of this particular year, Abul Fazl gives a short introduction, presenting

[1] The Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh, by Lees and Ahmad Ali, Vol. II., p. 240, l. 16; p. 241, l. 5.

[2] Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh of Badâôni, translated by Lowe, Vol. II., p. 248.

[3] The Calcutta edition of Abd-ur Rahim, Vol. III., p. 221, l. 24.

از سوانح پدید آمدن ذوذنب است بعد از نشستن نیر اعظم عطابخش عالم بکرسئی مغرب زمین

i.e. Of the event of the appearance of a comet in the evening [lit. after the time, when the great luminary (*i.e.*, the sun) which bestows favours on the world, sits on the seat of the western land]. As to the discrepancy in the year of the appearance of the comet, whether it was in the 22nd or 23rd year of Akbar's reign, Elliot thus explains it. "The twenty-second year began on the 20th Zi-l-hijra, 984, and being a solar year, it extended over the whole of Hijra 985 and ended on the 1st day of 986. The oversight of this fact has given rise to some confusion in the dates about this period, and the events here recorded as having occurred in the twenty-third year of the reign are placed by Abul-l-Fazl in the twenty-second (Elliot's History of India, Vol. V., p. 403, n. 1).

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

his views of the occurrence of the phenomenon and describing the events of the appearance of comets in former years. He then describes this phenomenon in the time of Akbar's reign[1] (985 Hijri; 1577-78 A.D.) in the following words:—

As the above passage[2] has not been translated by any author, I give my own translation of it:—

"On the day Ârâd (Arshisang), the 25th of the Ilâhi month Âbân, at the time, when the sun made his conspicuous appearance in the sign Scorpio, this heavenly sign (*i.e.*, the comet دوذنب) kindled its brilliant face in the sign Saggitarius, faced towards the west (*bâkhtar-rû*) inclined toward the north. It had a long tail. It had reached such a limit, that in many towns they saw it for five months. The well-informed astrologers, and those skilled in the mysteries, belonging to the higher (*i.e.*, celestial) assembly, explained it thus: "that among some of the inhabited[3] parts of Hindustan, there will be

---

[1] Comte de Noer gives the date of this phenomenon as the end of October 1577 (Chaban 985). L'Empereur Akbar, Vol. I., p. 262.

[2] روز آراد بیست وپنجم آبان ماه إلهي هنگامیکه نیّر اعظم در برج عقرب سعادت مي افزود در برج قوس این نشان آسماني باختر رویه مایل بشمال چهرهٔ تابش افروخت دنبالهٔ دراز داشت چنانچه بحدّی رسید که در بعضی بلاد تا پنج ماه دیدند اختر شناسان آگاه دل و رموزفهمان انجمن بالا چنین گذارش نمودند که در لختي از مساکن هندوستان غلّه گوانی پذیره و از جایهای خاص نشان دادند و فرمان روای ایرانرا روزگار سپری گردد و در عراق و خراسان گرد آشوب بر خیزد چنانکه گفته بودند بي کم و کاست بظهور آمد درهمان نزدیکي قافلهٔ از ایران رسید برخي از کاردانان راستي منش بدرگاه همایون شرح گذشتن شاه طهماسپ و کشته شدن سلطان حیدر و بسلطنت رسیدن شاه اسمعیل بعرض اقدس رسانیدند

(The Akbar-nameh by Abul Fazl, edited by Maulavi Abd-ur-Rahim, Vol. III., p. 224, ll. 3-10.)

[3] Or "the poor" or the "inhabitants." "مساکن *masâkin* (pl. of *maskan* or maskin Habitations; (for masâkîn) the poor; *musâkin* an inhabitant." (Steingass.)

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

scarcity of grain, and they specified some particular places. The time of the ruler of Irân, will come to an end, and in Irâk and Khorâssân there will arise disturbances.' All, that was said, came to pass without anything being less or diminished. A short time after, a caravan came from Irân. Some of its well-informed men of truthful mind, informed his Majesty, of the death of Shah Tahmâsp, and of the murder of Sultân Haidar, and of the accession to the throne of Shâh Ismail."

As pointed out by Elliot, Fergusson's list[1] of comets, included a comet, which appeared in 1577. It passed its perihelion on the 26th October 1577.

There is one thing in Abul Fazl's description of the phenomena of comets, which requires to be noticed. He says, that the phenomena were supposed to forbode evils to a certain extent, in the countries, where they appeared, and that there were *nirangs* (*i.e.* incantations) among the ancients for averting the evils. He says و باندازهٔ درنگ نتائج آن بظهور آید و نیرنگی آثار این در نگاشتها پیشینیان بیشتر ازان است کہ گفتہ اید[2] *i.e.*, "Their consequences appear in proportion to its duration, and the incantations for (counteracting) the influence of these occur in the writings of the ancients more than can be described."

The *nirang* (*i.e.*, prayer or incantations) of the ancients, referred to by Abul Fazl, seems to be the *nirang* of the ancient Irânians. We find from the Shikand Gumânik Vijâr (S. B. E. Vol. XXIV., Chap. IV., 47-48) that the appearance of comets was believed by the ancient Persians, to bring with it, damage and harm to the countries where they appeared. They believed that the resulting harm can be averted by prayers. Among the Parsees, there is still one *nirang* of that kind known as the *Nirang Vanant Yasht*. It begins thus کل بلا دفع شود و دیو و دروج و پري و گفتار و سحران *i.e.* "May there be averted all the calamities, and (the evils of) the Devil and the Druj and the Peri (fairy) and the Kaftâr (lit. despoiler of the dead) and the magicians."

We must note, that firstly, this is a *nirang* or prayer to avert the evils or wrongs from the *sahrân*[3] (*i.e.*, magicians or trick-players).

---

[1] Fergusson's Astronomy by Dr. Brewster, Vol. II. (1811), p. 360.

[2] Akbar-nameh, Vol. III., p. 223, ll. 4—5.

[3] *Vide* the last word of the quotation from the *Nirang*.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Again, secondly, we must note that as the *nirang* referred to by Abul Falz, is in connection with a star (and the comet is spoken of by Badâôni as a star ستارهٔ دنباله) so the Parsee Nirang-i-Vanant Yasht above referred to, also bears its name from Vanant, which is the name of a star.

Now, Prof. Darmesteter says in his Zend Avesta[1], that the tradition, as he had heard it from a member of the Meherji Rana family, said, that it was the Vanant Yasht, which Dastur Meherji Rana had recited at the time of the so-called miracle. Perhaps he recited that *nirang*, or some other *nirang*, to pray to God, to avert the evils of the natural phenomenon that had occurred at the time.

I have examined this question of the so-called miracle, rather at some length, to show that, as Dr. West said, there may be "some probable fact" at the bottom, round which the story is interwoven. It may be a conjurer's trick, or it may be a meteorological phenomenon, or it may be the astronomical phenomenon of a comet, which is actually noted by three historians of Akbar's time, *viz.*, Badâôni, Abul Fazl and Nizam-ud-din, and the occurrence of which has been confirmed by European astronomers. I am disposed to believe, that it was possibly the third fact, *viz.*, the phenomenon of the comet, that led to the tradition of the so-called miracle. It was believed, as Abul Fazl says, that evils resulted from the appearance of the phenomenon. They further believed, that the writings of the ancients (*pishinigân*) had some *nirangs* (prayers) which averted those evils. So, they may have turned to Dastur Meherji Rana for some of these *nirangs*. Let it be specially noted that in Tansen's song, it is his prayers that are referred to as accepted (*vide* pp.163-64).

Thus, one or another of these actual facts may have been misinterpreted, misunderstood or exaggerated in subsequent times. But for the sake of that misinterpretation, misunderstanding or exaggeration, the historical fact of Dastur Meherji Rana's presence at the court, and of his influence on Akbar need not be doubted. Why! more exaggerated things than these, and supposed to be more miraculous, have been attributed to Akbar himself by his historians. He is said to have had the power of miraculously curing the sick, for which reason, and for other reasons, some of his people prostrated before him as before their god. But such statements should not be taken as throwing doubts upon the historical events and acts of his life.

[1] Le Zend-Avesta, Vol. II., p. 644.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

4. The fourth objection raised against Dastur Meherji Rana's mission is this. Tradition, as embodied in a song, says, that his mission so far succeeded, that he converted Akbar "to the Parsee faith by investing him with the sacred shirt and thread-girdle, *sudreh* and *kusti*, the outward sign of adopting that faith."[1] The idea of Akbar's putting on the sacred shirt and thread of the Parsees, as referred to in the song, is looked upon with doubt and ridicule. It is supposed, that a king like Akbar, who had his peculiar ideas of a new religion, could not have put on the symbols of the religion of Zoroaster. I admit, that Akbar was never a staunch Zoroastrian, as he was never a staunch Christian, Mahomedan or Hindu. But in spite of that, it is very likely that he once may have put on the *sudreh* and *kusti*, if for nothing else, for the sake of curiosity. We have authentic statements, that he put on visible symbols of other religions, like Christianity and Hinduism.

Father Catrou, who wrote the History of the Mogul dynasty in 1708, on the authority of a Portuguese manuscript of M. Manouchi, a Venetian, who had visited the Court of the Moguls in the reign of Shah Jehân, says: "Akebar took the Bible, placed it upon his head, in sign of respect, kissed the images, and made his children kiss them."[2] "He, on certain occasions, paid honours to Jesus and Mary. He carried, suspended from his neck, a relic, which he had received from Father Aquaviva, an Agnus Dei, and an image of the Virgin Mary."[3] "On the day of the assumption of the Virgin Mary, he had caused a throne to be erected, on which the image of the Virgin was placed"[4] "Akebar produced before the fathers the images of Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary. He pressed them to his heart and kissed them with affection."[5] "It was no longer possible to doubt but that Akebar was in spirit and in belief a Christian. He was often present at the services which the fathers celebrated in their chapel; he assisted at their prayers, repeating them in a kneeling posture."[6]

All these are the statements of the Christian missionaries from their point of view. The Mahomedan historians, though they give an expression to his leaning towards the teachings of the missionaries,

---

[1] B. B. R. A. Society's Journal. XIX., No. LIII., p. 292.

[2] History of the Mogul Dynasty, translated from the French of Father François Catrou, 1826, p. 106. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 121.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 125. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 127. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 128.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

do not go so far. But even in spite of all the above public expressions of sympathy towards Christianity, the Christian fathers at times "apprehended"—to quote Father Catrou's words—"that dissimulation and policy, so natural to the Moghuls, had the greatest share in the discourse of the Prince."[1]

Coming to Hinduism, we find, even from the Mahomedan historians, that Akbar assumed all the visible signs of that religion. He became a vegetarian, and even put on the Hindu mark on his forehead, and went out in public with that mark and with the Hindu thread *râk'hi* on his body. Badâôni says "On the festival of the eighth day after the Sun's entering Virgo in this year he came forth to the public audience-chamber with his forehead marked like a Hindû and he had jewelled strings tied on his wrists by Brahmans by way of a blessing. . ." It became the current custom also to wear the *râk'hî* (راکھی) on the wrist." (Lowe's Translation, vol. II., p. 269. Rehatsek, p. 27. Blochmann. Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 184. Lees and Ahmad Ali's Calcutta Text, Vol. II., p. 261, ll. 18 to 22.) According to Rehatsek *Rak'hi* is an amulet of string tied round the arm on a certain festival held in honor of Krishna during the full moon of Srâvana" (p. 27 n. 24). It is still put on by the Hindus on the Nâlieri Punam or Balev holiday.

Now then, if Akbar put on the visible symbols of the religions of the Christians and Hindus—either out of temporary real affection for these religions, or only out of dissimulation, or for the sake of curiosity—there is no wonder, if he put on, even for a short time, the *sudreh* and *kusti* (the sacred shirt and thread), the visible signs of Parseeism, from which he had taken several elements for his new religion, as noted by several historians of his reign.

There is one thing, which draws our special attention in connection with this question of *sudreh* and *kusti*. We read in Badâôni in the account of the 24th year of Akbar's reign (1579-80 A.D.) that Birbal recommended sun-worship to the king. There, at the end of the passage, the author says وقشقہ و زنار را جلوہ داد[2]. *Blochmann* translates it "(For similar reasons, said Bir Bar should man pay

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 107.

[2] Compare the words جلوہ داد *Jalveh dâd* here, with the same words used by Dastur Shapurjee Sanjânâ about Dastur Meherji Rana in connection with his visit to Akbar's court (*vide* above p. 46. بہمشہ دین بہرا جلوہ داد).

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

regard . . .) to the mark on the forehead and the Brahmanical thread."[1]

Rehatsek translates this as "he also recommended marks on the forehead and strings." Rehatsek adds in a note: "Both are badges of caste; the forehead mark our author calls *qashqah* and the string *zenâr*."[2]

Lowe translates it: "That he should adopt the sectarial mark and Brahmanical thread." (Lowe's translation, Vol. II., p. 268.)

Now the word *zunnâr* (زنار) referred to by Badâôni, signifies, according to Steingass: "A belt (particularly a cord worn round the middle by the Eastern Christians and Jews, also by the Persian Magi), the Brahmanical thread."

Badâôni does not use the word Brahmanical. It appears that it is latterly that it has been applied to sacred threads or cords put on by different communities, but formerly it was specially applied to that used by the Persian Magi. Firdousi applies it to the *kusti* or sacred thread of the ancient Persians. For example he says about Minocheher[3]:

منوچهر بنهاد تاج کیان ∴ ببستش بزنار خونین میان

i.e. "Minocheher put on the Kiânian crown and, bent on revenge, tied his waist with *zunnâr*(*i.e. kusti*"). The Farhang-i-Jehangiri,[4] written in Akbar's reign, says of this word زنار — رشتہ را گویند کہ آتش پرستان با خود دارند *i.e.*, "a thread which the fire-worshippers put on is called zunnâr." It seems to me, that as the word zunnâr appears here in connection with sun-worship adopted by Akbar and with the establishment of fire temples, it may have been understood by some to refer to the *kusti* of the Zoroastrians.

As the word *zunnâr* (*zenâr*) has the meaning of *kusti*, and as it has also the meaning of "a priest's gown," as Richardson puts it, it is quite natural, that the above sentence of Badaoni may have been taken by some later Parsees—even by mistake—to refer to their *sudreh* and *kusti*. So, irrespective of the question, whether Akbar put on or not, the *sudreh* and *kusti*—it may be through curiosity—as he put on the visible symbols of Christianity and Hinduism, it

1 Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 183.

2 The Emperor Akbar's Repudiation of Esllâm (1866), p. 25.

3 Mohl. Livre des Rois, Vol. I., p. 210, l. 1139.

4 Mr. Manockji Rustomji Unwala's MS. copy. Lucknow Edition, Jald Second, p. 121.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

is possible, that the above sentence of Badaoni may have led some later Parsees to infer, that zunnâr meant *sudreh* and *kusti*. Thus we find, that if later songs spoke of Akbar putting on the *sudreh* and *kusti*, they had some authority, real or mistaken.

But then, it is not the Indian songsters and singers alone, who say, that Akbar was converted to Parseeism. Even European writers, on the strength of Mahomedan authorities, have come to the conclusion, that Akbar was, to a certain extent, a convert to Zoroastrianism, and that it was the priests of Naôsâri who brought about that result. Prof. Wilson renders the passage of Badaoni on Akbar's religion thus : "A number of fire-worshippers, who arrived from Nausârî in Guzerat, gained many converts to the religion of Zerdusht. The emperor was, to a certain extent, amongst them."[1] Again, we have a German author, who says a similar thing. It is Comte de Noer. I quote him in the words of his translator Maury: "Il y avait à Naousari, dans le Goudjerat des disciples de Zarathustra. . . . Quelques uns de leurs prêtres furent mandès à Sikri et initierent l'empereur à leur religion."[2] Thus, if it was the Naôsâri Parsees, who, according to these authors, led Abkar to Zoroastrianism, it is quite natural that Dastur Meherji Rana, the head of the Naôsâri Parsees, should have an active hand in the work.

Tennyson also, in his Akbar's Dream, takes the view that Akbar was converted to Zoroastrianism. He makes Akbar complain of the fact, that the people railed at him as a Zoroastrian. Tennyson[3] puts the following words in the mouth of Akbar :—

"The sun, the sun! they rail
At me the Zoroastrian. Let the Sun,
Who heats our earth to yield us grain and fruit,
And laughs upon thy field as well as mine,
And warms the blood of Shiah and Sunnee.
Symbol the Eternal! Yea and may not kings
Express Him also by their warmth of love
For all thy rule—by equal law for all?
By deeds a light to men?"

There is one thing very peculiar in this passage of Tennyson. He represents Akbar, as complaining against the people railing at him

[1] H. H. Wilson's Works, edited by Dr. Rost, Vol. II., p. 389.

[2] L'Empereur Akbar, pp. 314—15.

[3] Tennyson's "Akbar's Dream."

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

as a Zoroastrian, and then as justifying his sun-worship : He says :

Let the Sun,
Who heats our earth to yield us grain and fruit,
And laughs upon thy field as well as mine."

Tennyson here bases his thoughts upon that very passage of Badâôni, in which the word *zunnâr* occurs, and in which Birbal justifies sun-worship, and is supported by other learned men of the court who, according to the Dabistan, were "a sect of the fire-worshippers." Badaoni's words corresponding to the above words of Tennyson are :—

"The sun was the primary origin of everything. The ripening of the grain on the fields, of fruits and vegetables, the illumination of the universe, and the lives of men, depended upon the Sun. Hence it was but proper to worship and reverence this luminary."[1]

Summary.

To sum up : We have the authority of four writers—two of them Badâôni and Abul Fazl, contemporaries of king Akbar—to say that it was the Indian Parsees who explained to the king, the religion of Zoroaster. Badâôni says that it was the Naosari Parsees who did so. The author of the Dabistan, written at least about 57 years after Badaoni, supports him in almost his own words. From these writers and from the author of the Târikh-i-Mamâlik Hind, we learn that by 1582-84 the king had openly adopted some of the Parsee forms of worship, the Parsee calendar, and the Parsee festivals. The Dabistan adds one fact more, viz., that Ardesir from Persia had also come to the Court of Akbar by special invitation, and was questioned "about the subtleties of Zerdusht's religion." This event had happened subsequently *in* or *after* 1592, *long after* Akbar had openly adopted some of the Parsee forms of worship, etc. So Badaoni takes no note of this event; but the author of the Dabistan, who wrote at least 57 years after Badâôni, takes a note of this subsequent event. The Farhang-i-Jehangiri says, that the special purpose, for which Ardesir was called, was to help its author in the work of the dictionary, and that he was called in or after 1592.

Dastur Meherji Rana was the head of the Naosari Parsees. (1) Dastur Shapurji M. Sanjânâ, in his Kisseh-i-Âtash Beherâm-i-Naôsâri, written in 1765-66, clearly says that "he had gone to the

[1] Blochmann. Ain-i-Akbari, I., p. 183.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

court of King Akbar and had shown him proofs of religion." This statement is supported by further facts. (2) Two farmâns of King Akbar himself and two other old documents of his time affirm that he was given 200 *bigâhs* of land by Akbar. (3) There are three old documents, which clearly show, that just after his return from the court of Akbar, he was formally acknowledged by the priests of Naosari as their head. (4) Old manuscripts of Zend Avesta prayer books, one of which is about 192 years old, affirm that his name was commemorated in prayers. Why was this ? It was in recognition of services rendered to the cause of Parsee religion at the Court of Akbar, as affirmed by Dastur Shapurji Sanjânâ in his book. (5) Again old songs, one of which is recorded in a manuscript about 110 years old, and believed to have been written by Tansen, the minstrel of Akbar himself, record the event of his visit to Akbar's Court.

Coming to the objections raised against Naosari Parsees in general, it is said that the Gujarat Parsees were all ignorant at the time of King Akbar. Drs. West and Geldner, and Prof. Hodiwala have shown elsewhere that there was not that general ignorance as that alleged. We have the authority of two letters from Persia, recorded in the Revâyets, to say that the Zoroastrians of Persia were not far better than the Zoroastrians of India. As to the objection that Naosari was an obscure town, and as such was not capable of producing capable men, we have the authority of eight Revâyets, one after another, to show that it was not so. Coming to the objections against Dastur Meherji Rana, we have the authority of three documents and two manuscripts, and of a work of Dastur Dârâb Pâhlan, to show that he was not an obscure priest as alleged. We have the authority of one old document and an old manuscript Revayet to show that even his father Rana Jeshang was not an obscure priest. We have two manuscripts written by Rana Jeshang himself to show that he was versed in Pazend and Persian. So Dastur Meherji Rana was a known and learned son of a known and learned father.

The main issues in this question are :—

1. Is it, or is it not, a fact, (A) that Badaoni, *under the events of* 1579 *A. D.*, says (*a*) that " the Parsees from Naosari proved to his Majesty the truth of Zoroaster's doctrines," and that (*b*) they " impressed the Emperor so favourably that he learned from them the religious terms and rites of the old Parsis," and that (*c*) he " ordered

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Abul Fazl to make arrangements that sacred fire should be kept burning at court by day and by night, according to the custom of the ancient Persian kings"; (B) that the Dabistan supports the above statement of Badaoni about the Naosari priests; (C) that Abul Fazl in his Akbar-nameh, under the events of the 23rd year of Akbar's reign, *i.e.* of 1578, refers to the presence of Zoroastrians in the assembly for religious discussions; and (D) that the Tarikh-i-Màmâlik-i-Hind says that *in 1579 A.D.* Akbar was led away from Mohomedanism by the Parsees? In short, is it, or is it not, a fact, that before 1583 Akbar had adopted the visible forms of Parsee worship and adopted Parsee calendar and festivals?

2. As to the additional facts of Ardeshir's coming from Persia to the Court of Akbar, is it, or is it not, a fact that, according to the Farhang-i-Jehangiri Ardeshir was called for the purpose of the dictionary, and that he came *in or after* 1592?

If you decide these most important issues in the affirmative, you cannot but come to the conclusion that it was the Naosari Parsees who explained to Akbar the religion of Zoroaster.

Then as to the next question as to who was the leader of the Naosari Parsees the most important issues are :—

(1) Is it, or is it not, a fact that we have (A) documents of King Akbar's time saying that Dastur Meherji Rana was given 200 *bighas* of land given to him by Akbar as *madad-i-maâsh*, a special kind of grant; (B) documents of King Akbar's time, showing, that at the very time, which corresponds with the time of his return from Akbar's Court, he was formally acknowledged by the priests of Naosari as their head; and (C) a Zend manuscript about 192 years' old, which is supported by other later manuscripts, showing that his name is commemorated in a prayer as that of a departed worthy who had rendered some services to his community.

If you decide these issues in the affirmative, the question arises, (*a*) Why was it that Dastur Meherji Rana was given 200 *bighas* of land by Akbar; (*b*) why was he formally acknowledged as their head by the priests of Naosari; (*c*) why was his name commemorated? It must be in reward of some services rendered. What those services were appear from the writing of a Parsee author, who, in his work, written in 1765-66 A.D., says that Dastur Meherji Rana had gone to the Court of Akbar and explained to him the religion of Zoroaster. This visit to the Court of Akbar, is referred to

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

in a song by Tansen, the contemporary of Akbar, a song that is found in a manuscript written about 110 years ago.

If you decide all these issues in the affirmative, you cannot but come to the conclusion that it was Dastur Meherji Rana the leader of the Naosari Parsees who had gone to the Court of Akbar. These are the main issues. Without deciding them, all other arguments would be futile and useless.

Before I finish, I beg to say, that Mr. Karkaria has done gross injustice to Dastur Meherji Rana's descendants. He says :— "A paper has been put into my hands by the present descendants of this Meherji Rana, who still live in Naosari, in which what are called historical authorities are given for the abovementioned traditions. The writer of this quotes what purports to be passages from three famous historians of Akbar, *viz.*, Badaoni, Abul Fazl, and the author of the Tabakat-i-Akbari, in each of which the tradition is fully and emphatically mentioned. But, strange to relate, I do not find just those passages in these historians ! They are conspicuous by their absence in the excellent editions of Badaoni and Abul Fazl, published by the Bengal Asiatic Society in the *Bibliotheca Indica !*"[1]

Now, I produce those very papers, which were placed in the hands of Mr. Karkaria. Mr. Karkaria has taken care, to get them initialled by two or three well-known citizens. I find thereon, among other initials, the initials K. N. K. and D. F. These two, are the initials of Mr. Kaikhoshroo Nowrojee Kabraji and Mr. Dosabhoy Framji Karaka, C.S.I. It is fortunate, that what Mr. Karkaria thought to be necessary for his protection, has turned out to be necessary for the protection of the descendants of Dastur Meherji Rana.

Mr. Karkaria says in the above passage, that the paper, with which he was supplied, purported to contain passages from Badaoni. I do not find anything of the kind. Therein the name mentioned, is *not* that of Badaoni, but it is that of one Abdul Kadir Badlani, and the book is that called Vakaât Akbari. Perhaps Mr. Karkaria would say, that by mistake he took Badlâni for Badâôni. But then, in the paper given to him, Badlani's book is mentioned as Vakaât Akbari, and we know that Badaoni's work is Muntakhab-al-tawârikh.

Secondly, Mr. Karkaria says that he was supplied with passages purporting to be from Abul Fazl, " the excellent editions " of whose

[1] Vol. XIX., No. 53, pp. 293-94.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

works (the Âin-i-Akbari and the Akbar-nâmeh), he says, are "published by the Bengal Asiatic Society in the Bibiliotheca Indica." But I find, that in the paper given to him, the above-named books are *not at all* mentioned. The book mentioned is "Tawârikh-i-Mâhânâmeh.

Thirdly, he says, that the paper given to him, was said to contain passages from the Tabakât-i-Akbari. What he calls the "excellent Tabakât-Akbari of Nizam-ud-din" is *not at all* referred to in the paper, but the Tabakât referred to, is spoken of, as one, written by Moulvi Abdul Nabi Sistani.

In the case of all the three above-mentioned books, Mr. Karkaria has given altogether wrong names. He represents the descendants of Dastur Meherji Rana's family, as giving him from three well-known works (Badaoni's Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh, Abul Fazl's Ain-i-Akbari or Akbar-nameh, and Nizam-ud-din's Tabakât-i-Akbari), passages which did not exist in those works, while, as a matter of fact, the passages are clearly spoken of in the paper supplied to him *as belonging to some other books*. Again, the worst of it is this, that he makes this charge, in spite of his being very clearly told by the giver of the paper, that the books, named in the paper, have not been found, though he tried his best, and that he was not sure whether the books existed or not, and that if they existed, he was not sure whether those passages were therein or not.

The fact is that those passages were given to the late Dastur Erachjee Sohrabjee Meherji Rana, the late learned librarian of the Mulla Firoz Library, by a friend at Poona, as being found by a Mahomedan Munshi in some manuscript books at Agra. As one taking an interest in all that related to the history of his family, he copied those passages in his manuscript book of family notes. Had the names of the books been those of the above well-known works, he would have at once verified the passages from the books in his Mulla Firoz Library. One of our vice-presidents, Mr. K. R. Cama, as the President of that institution, can certify, that Dastur Erachjee was a learned and diligent traditional scholar, and had written many manuscripts for his library. So, he could have easily verified the passages by a reference to the above works in his library, but as the names given were quite unknown, he simply took down the passages for what they were worth.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The gentleman who sent to Mr. Karkaria at his express desire, the paper containing these passages very clearly said, at the time, "એ કેતાબોની હૈયાતી છેકે નહીં તે જણાતું નથી. કારણ મારી મુશાફરી દરમ્યાન મેં ઘણી તજવીજ કરવા છતાં એ કેતાબો મને મળી નથી અને કદાચ કેતાબો હોય તો તેમાં એ ફકરા છેકે નહિ તે પણ હું કહી શકતો નથી. મને તો જેવા મળ્યા છે તેવાજ મેં નકલ ઉતારી લીધી છે."

i.e., "It is not known, whether these books exist or not, because during my travels, though I tried my best, I could not find these books. And even if these books exist, whether these passages occur therein or not, I cannot say. I have copied them as I have found them."

Mr. Karkaria put in a para. in the Gujarati papers, asking for papers connected with Dastur Meherji Rana. A member of the family sent him those papers, very clearly saying that, in his travels, he had tried his best to find the books named, and that he could not find them. His words very clearly show, that he did not mean at all, the well-known works of Badaoni, Abul Fazl and Nizam-ud-din. In spite of all that, Mr. Karkaria dares to say that the passages were "very likely a forgery by the copyist himself." To say the least, this is very unfair, and I beg to say that Mr. Karkaria, if not for his own sake, for the sake of the Society in whose journal he has published this libel, owes an explanation to the members of the family of Dastur Meherji Rana, who, he thinks, have made a "pretended claim" for their ancestor.

I cannot conclude this paper, without offering my best thanks to the gentlemen, whose names I have mentioned in the paper, for placing at my disposal the valuable documents and manuscripts in their possession. My best thanks are due to Dastur Dârâbjee Mâhiârjee, the present Dastur of Naôsâri, for kindly lending me the first original *Firmân* of king Akbar to be placed before the Society. My best thanks are due to Professor Shapursha Hormasji Hodiwâlâ for kindly lending me the old documents *re* the appointment of Dastur Meherji Rana at the head of the Naôsâri priesthood, and some other old documents. Most of these documents belong to Mr. Hormusjee Beharamji Dastur of Naôsâri. All those documents were brought to Bombay by Prof. Hodiwâlâ, from their owners at Naôsâri about 5 years ago, when the question was discussed. Professor Hodiwâlâ

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

has placed some of the results of his study in his letters to the *Bombay Gazette* over the *noms de plume* of Edie Ochiltree Junior and J. O. E. in 1896, and those letters have been of much use to me. I am indebted to these letters for many of my references in this paper. I offer my thanks to Mr. Manockjee Rustomji Unwala for some old manuscripts bearing on the subject. Lastly, my thanks are due to the Committee of the Naôsâri Meherji Rana Library, and to the President of the Mulla Firoz Library, for placing their old manuscripts at my disposal for the occasion.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Appendix.

I will give here the text and the translation of some of the original documents, referred to above in the paper. Firstly, I will give the two *farmâns* of the 40th and 48th years of king Akbar's reign, given to Dastur Kaikobad, the son of Dastur Meherji Râná, in which it is mentioned, that before the dates of the grants, 200 *bigahs* of land, which formed a part of the 300 *bigahs* granted to him, were given to his father, Dastur Meherji Rana, for his *madad-i-maâsh*. I will give at the end, the photo-litho facsimiles of these two *farmâns*, together with those of some other documents referred to in the paper. I have to thank Mr. Jehangier Rustomjee Unwala for the photographs of these two documents, and Messrs. Cooper and Dhondy, of the New Litho Printing Press, for the photographs of the other documents. To photograph such very old documents is not an easy task, especially when some of the documents are too large to be had within the sphere of the camera at one and the same time. So the photos of some of the Persian documents had to be taken in parts and then arranged together on the stones. Then the lithographing of the documents was not, again, very easy. The lithographed stones had to be cleaned between the lines and the letters, to make the print distinct and legible. With all trouble and care the work has not been such, as one would wish it to be. However, I am indebted to the Education Society's Press, for the patience with which they have done this work and for the printing of this paper generally. My best thanks are due to my friend, Ervad Manockjee Rustomji Unwala, for helping me in seeing these old documents pass through the press.

To help both students and ordinary readers, I give the old documents in type also. The careful reading of these old *farmâns* requires some practice in this matter, which I had not before I undertook the work. So I am indebted to Mr. Khodâyâr Shehryâr Dastur for helping me in reading them. A few words here and there are still not clear and legible to me, and a few words here and there may perhaps be read and translated by others, in a way, different from that, in which I have read and understood them, but that does not make much difference in understanding the documents as a whole. In printing the last portions of the two *farmâns* with the seals, I have printed it upside down, in the same way as it is written in the original *farmâns* (*vide* the photo-litho facsimiles). I have explained

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the reason there. The *farmâns* are printed line by line according to the original documents.

Irrespective of the question of support, which these two old *farmâns* of king Akbar's time give, as evidence, to the subject-matter of the paper, they are very interesting in themselves. They are of some interest to caligraphists. Again, they are interesting from another point of view. They give us an idea, of some of the customs and rules, connected with *jagirs* and land revenue in Akbar's time. In this matter, they serve as illustrations, as it were, of the different *âins* on this subject in the Âin-i-Akbari of Abul Fazl. So, I have translated these *farmâns* with the very help, as it were, of the Âin-i-Akbari. I have tried to explain the technical words and phrases, by means of the very language of the above book.

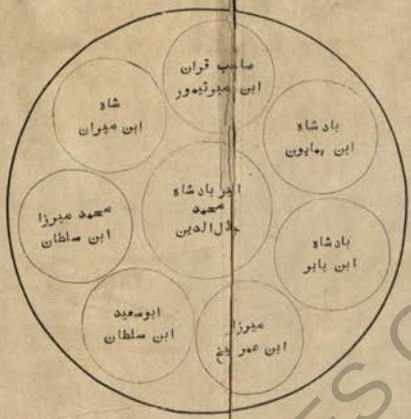
Most of the documents given in this paper are worth studying from their own standpoints of view. If I do not mistake, it is for the first time that such documents of Akbar's and Baber's times are printed. I beg to submit this appendix as an humble result of my studies in this matter.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

الله اکبر

Document No. 1.
(The first Farmân of the 40th year of King Akbar's reign.—*vide* above, p. 38.)



فرمان جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه غازی

دریں وقت فرمانِ عالي شان عنایت نشان صدور یافت کہ

چون موازی سہ صد بیگہہ زمین بگز الٰہي مع درختان تار و خرما وغیرہ
کہ در آن زمین واقع است از سواد قصبہ نوساري وغیرہ بموجب تفصیل ضمن در وجہ مدد معاش کیقباد پارسي ولد ماہیار
از تعین جاگیردار از فصل خریف
قوي ایل از سرکار سورت مقرر شدہ کہ سال بسال حاصل آنرا صرف اوقات گذر خود نمودہ بدعای مزید دولت و تمال
اشتغال مي نمودہ باشد
بسبیل بر حکام و عمال و کروریان و جاگیرداران حال و استقبالِ آں مثال حسب المسطور عمل نمودہ و زمینِ مذکور را پیمودہ
و چک بستہ بقصرف مشار الیہ کذارند
و در اسقرار و استقرار آن عنایت کوشیدہ تغیر و تبدیل ندہند و بعلت مال و جہات و اخراجات و سایر جہات مثن قلیل و
پیشکش و جرمانہ و ضابطانہ و میرانہ و دلالی و نکاہ و صیانہ و مکانی
و دہ نیم و صد دوی و قانون گوی و نکہدار زراعت و ترکاری و زکوة الجہاتي و ضبط پرسالہ بعد از تشخیص چک و کل تکالیف
دیواني و جمیع اخراجات سلطاني مزاحمت نرسانند
و از کل حوالات معاف و مرفوع القلم نمودہ پیرامون تعرض نکردند و پرسالہ دراین باب فرمان و پروانچہ مجدد نطلبند و چون رقم
بتوقیع اشرف اعلي رسد اعتماد نمایند تحریراً

غرہ آخر ماہ اسفندارمز الٰہي سنہ ۴۰

شرح تعلیقہ بتاریخ روز تیر ۱۳ ماہ آبان الٰہي سنہ ۴۰ حکم فرمودند کہ موازي سہ صد بیگہہ زمین مع درختہاي تار و خرما وغیرہ
کہ درآن زمین واقع است
از سواد قصبہ نوساري وغیرہ بموجب تفصیل ذیل در وجہ مدد معاش کیقباد پارسي ولد ماہیار مقرر باشد کہ از آنچہ قبل
ازاین بتاریخ ۱۵ ماہ مہر الٰہي سنہ ۴۰ حکم شدہ بود
چون بشرح داخل واقعہ نشدہ بود بنابران بتفصیل داخل نمودہ شد برسالہ و چوکي افادت پناہ افاضت دستگاہ حقایق و معارف
آگاہي علامي شیخ ابوالفضل و توبت
واقعہ خواجہ معزالدین حسین شرح حاشیہ بخط واقعہ نویس شرح مفن بواقعہ کمترین بندگان معزالدین حسین موافق
است شرح دیگر بخط ملا نظر از تعین جاگیردار

بگز الٰہي تفاوت نمایند از فصل خریف قوي ایل

ملحما بیگہہ

قریہ ــ واد ــ

از پروی از پرگنہ پارچول
ما بیگہہ

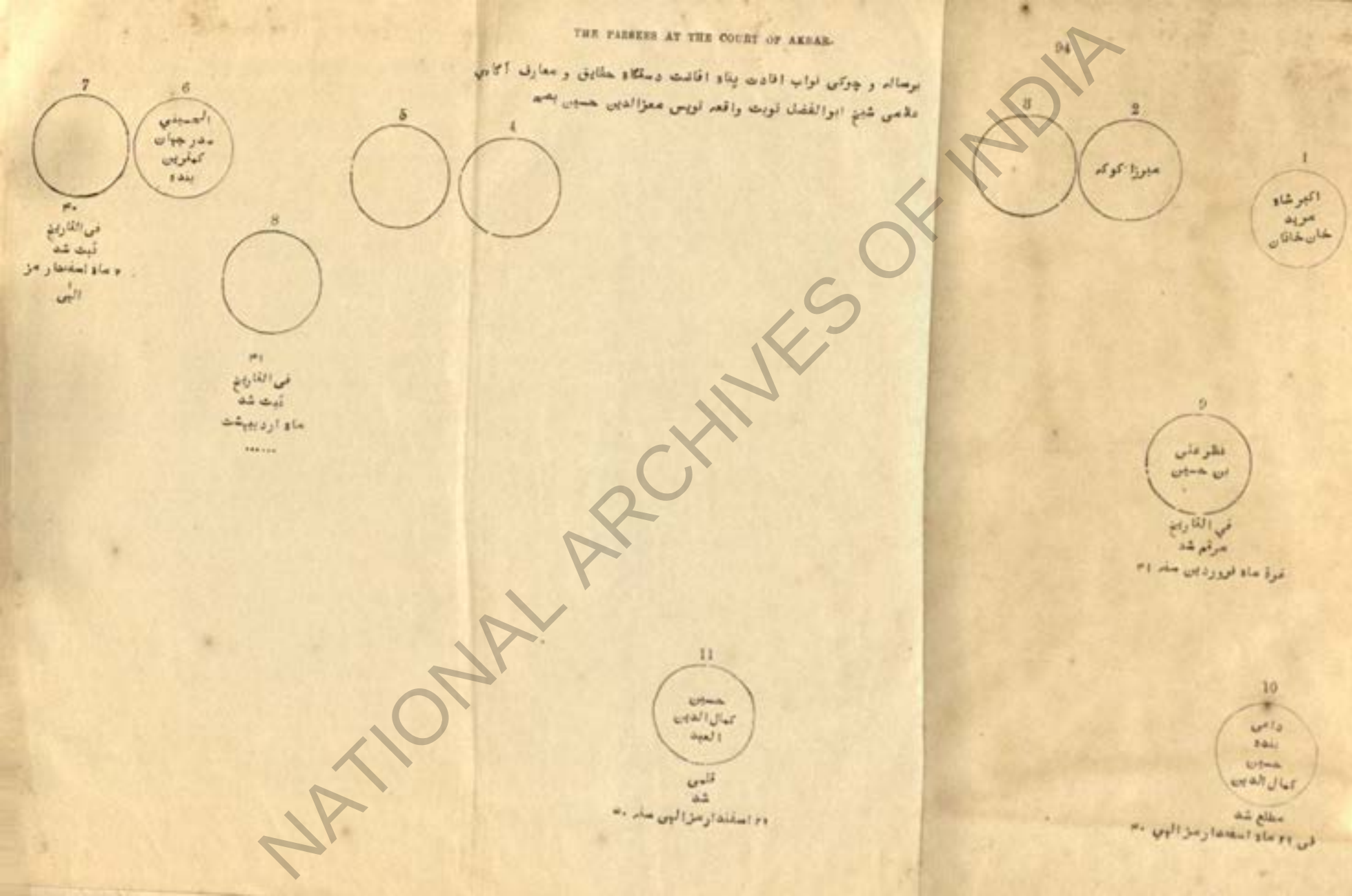
قصبہ نوساری کہ زمین مزکور قبل ازاین
در وجہ مدد معاش ماہیار بود
۸ بیگہہ

بصحہ

بصحہ

تاریخ ۲۹ ماہ اسفندارمز الٰہي سنہ ۴۰ غرہ ماہ فروردین الٰہي سنہ ۴۱ نقل گرفتہ شد

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA



NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

(Translation of the first Farmân.)

GOD IS GREAT.[1]

The *Farmân*[2] of Jalâluddin Muhammad Akbar Bâdshâh Gâzi.[3] At this time, a royal order, signifying favour, has acquired the

---

[1] الله اکبر 'Allah Akbar' was the form of salutation, which, according to Badâôni, Akbar substituted for the previous form of salutation (*salâm*). The reply to this new *salâm* was جل جلاله *Jal Jalâleh, i.e.*, "May his magnificence be glorified." (Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh, by Lees and Ahmad Ali, Vol. II., p. 356, l. 10. Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., p. 367. Rehatsek, p. 77. Blochmann, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 205.) It was in 995 Hijri (A.D. 1586) that he introduced this formula as a form of salutation, but it was in 983 (A.D. 1575-76) that he had introduced it on his seals and coins. We find from Badâôni that he had discussed the question of this formula with some of the courtiers before introducing it. We read in the Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh :—

"In these days (A.H. 983, A.D. 1575-76) His Majesty once asked how people would like it, if he ordered the words *Allâh Akbar* to be cut on the Imperial seal, and the dies of his coins. Most said that the people would like it very much, but Hâjî Ibrâhîm objected, and said, that the phrase had an ambiguous meaning,* and that the Emperor might substitute the verse of the Qur'ân *Lazikrullâhi Akbaru*,† because it involved no ambiguity. But the Emperor was much displeased, and said it was surely sufficient, that no man who felt his weakness would claim Divinity; he merely looked to the sound of the words, and he had never thought that a thing could be carried to such an extreme." (Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., p. 213. Lees and Ahmad Ali's Text, Vol. II., p. 210, ll. 7-15. Elliot's (Dowson) History of India, Vol. V., p. 523.)

* "God is great" or "Akbar is God."

† To commemorate God is the greatest thing. لَذِكْرُ اللهِ أَكْبَرُ

[2] According to Abul Fazl *farmâns* were issued for three purposes. In the list for the second set of purposes fall the "appointments to jagirs without military service," and in that for the third set, fall "grants on account of daily subsistence allowance." (Âin-i-Akbari, Book II, Ain 11. Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I., pp. 260-61, Text I., p. 194.)

[3] Jalâl-ud-din Muhammad Akbar Bâdshâh Gazi (جلال الدين محمد اكبر بادشاه غازى) was the title by which king Akbar was known. (*Vide* the Tabakât-i-Akbari. Munshi Newul Kishore's lithographed edition of 1292 Hijri (A.D. 1875), p. 242, l. 8. *Vide* Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh of Badâôni. Lees and Ahmad Ali's Text, Vol. II., p. 8, l. 1; p. 9, l. 11. Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., pp. 1 and 2.)

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

honour of publicity, that, Whereas, about [1] 300 *bigahs* [2] of land (measured) by the *Ilâhi gaz*,[3] together with palm and date trees, etc., which are growing on that land, have been assigned in the environs [4] of the town [5] of Nâosâri, etc., from the *Sirkâr* of Surat, according to the particulars of the contents [6] (of this *farmân*) for the purpose [7] of the assistance of livelihood (*madad-i-maâsh*) [8] of Parsi Kaîkobad, son of Mâhyâr, from the assignment [9] of

---

[1] موازی *mu'âzi*, nearly, about.

[2] According to the Âin-i-Akbari (Book III, Ain 10) a bîgah (بیگہہ) "is a quantity of land 60 *gaz* long by 60 broad. (قطعۂ زمین است در درازاو پہنا شصت گز) Should there be any diminution in length or breadth or excess in either, it is brought into square measure and made to consist of 3,600 square *gaz*." (Blochmann's Text, Vol. I., p. 296, l. 21. Translation, Vol. II., by Jarrett, p. 62) "3,600 square *gaz* = 2,600 square yards = 0·538, or somewhat more than half an acre." (*Ibid*, n. 1.)

[3] According to the Âin-i-Akbari (Book III., Âin 8) the *Ilâhi gaz* "is a measure of length and a standard gauge. (پیماینده مقدار است و گذارندهٔ حال) High and low refer to it, and it is the desire of the righteous and the unrighteous. Throughout Hindustan there were three such measures current, *viz.*, long, middling and short. Each was divided into 24 equal parts and each part called *tassûj* (طسوج Pers طسو *tassu*.). A *tassûj* of the first kind was equal to eight ordinary barley-corns placed together breadth-ways, and of the other two respectively, to 7 and 6 barley-corns. The long *gaz* was used for the measurement of cultivated lands, &c." (Blochmann's Text, Vol. I., p. 294, ll. 21-25. Translation, Vol. II., by Jarrett, p. 58-59.)

[4] سواد *Sawâd* is a term used in the Âin-i-Akbari in connection with different *subâhs* or provinces (*Vide* Bk. III., Ain XV., Blochmann's text, p. 377, *e.g.*, صوبۂ لاہور بہشت سواد Translation, Vol. II., by Jarrett, p. 110.)

[5] قصبہ The Dabistân also calls Naosari a *qasabah*.

[6] ضمن contents. It is a technical word used in connection with *Farmâns*. The Âin-i-Akbari alludes to it.

صاحب توجیہ آخرین تعلیقہ را پیش خود نگاہ دارد و شرح آنرا درضمن فرمان نویسد

i.e. "The Çahib-i-Taujih keeps the former Ta'liqah with himself, writes its details on the Farmân." (Bk. II., Ain 11, Blochmann's text, I., p. 194, l. 13. Translation I., p. 261.) The particulars referred to, are given at the end of the Farmân.

[7] وجہ "way, means, expenses."

[8] *Vide* above p. 39 for this kind of grant of land.

[9] تعین *ta'in* is a technical term of appointment for the different *mançabdârs, jagirdârs*, etc.—*Vide* Blochmann, Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 242.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the Jagirdâr, from the season of *kharif*[1] *ku el*, so that from year to year, spending the income thereof, in maintaining his life, he may be engaged in praying for the increase of the wealth and good fortune (of His Majesty). It is incumbent[2] upon the present and future governors,[3] tax-gatherers,[4] *krorians*[5] and *jâgirdârs*[6] of that district, that, acting according to what is written, and measuring the above-mentioned land, and preparing a *chak*[7], they shall transfer it to

---

[1] خریف Kharif is autumn. As to قو *ku* the Âin-i-Akbari (Bk. III. Âin 1.) speaking of the Turkish era, says that they counted years by cycles, each cycle having 12 years. In the names of the 12 years of the cycle, which Abul Fazl gives, we find قو *Kû* the sheep (گوسفند) as the 8th year. As to the word ایل *el* Abul Fazl says that they added "the word *el* to each of these words, which signifies year" در انجام هریک لفظ ایل کہ بمعنئی سال است برافزایند (Blochmann's text I., p. 273, ll. 16, 17, Translation Jarrett, II., page 21).

[2] سبیل path, road; so lit. it is the path or way for governors, etc.

[3] حکام pl. of حاکم *Vide* Blochmann's Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 241, for these officers. He says, "The higher Mançabdârs were mostly governors of Çûbahs. The governors were at first called *sipahsâlârs;* toward the end of Akbar's reign we find them called Hâkims, and afterwards *Çâhib Çubah* or *Çubahdârs*, and still later merely *Cubahs*. The other Mançabdars held *jâgirs*, which after the times of Akbar were frequently changed. The Mançabdârs are also called ta'inâtiyân (appointed)."

[4] عمال agents, governors, nobles, tax-gatherers.

[5] کروری *Karôri* was an officer in charge of the revenues over one *krôr* (10 millions) of dâms.—*Vide* Âin-i-Akbari, Bk. I., Ain 2.

و یک یک کرور بدیانت پیشگان جدگزین سپردند

(Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 10, ll. 4 and 5.) "And zealous and upright men were put in charge of the revenues, each over one krôr of dâms" (Blochmann's translation, Vol. I., p. 13).

[6] *Vide* above, *n* 3.

[7] According to the Âin-i-Akbarî (Bk. III., Ain 6), it was the duty of the *amal-guzâr* (عمل گذار *i.e.*, the revenue collector) to "ascertain the correctness of *chaknâmah*" چکنامہا مشخص گردانند (Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 287, l. 16, Translation, Vol. II., Jarrett, p. 47). Jarrett says that the *chaknamah* is a grant of alienated lands specifying the boundary limits thereof. *Chak* according to Elliot, is a patch of rent free land detached from a village." (*Ibid.*, p. 47, *n.* 1).

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the above-named[1] person. And that trying to bestow care in the settlement and perpetuity of that land, shall make no change or modification. And that on account of land-tax[2] and

[1] مشار الي هي *mushâr ilai-hi* "abovementioned person." *Mushâr, i.e.,* signified; lai-hi, *i.e.,* to him (Steingass, pp. 96 and 1242).

[2] مال *mâl* "rent of land, revenue arising from land" (Steingass). The following passage in the Ain-i-Akbari (Bk. III., Ain 7) explains this and some other words for different taxes mentioned in this *farmân*.

و در هر ملکي جز کشت و کار از مالِ مردم چيزي خواهند و آنرا قمغا گويند در توران و ايران برخي را بعنوان مال بر گيرند و طائفهٔ را بآئينِ جهات برستانند و لختي را بطرز سائرِ جهات طلب رود و چندي را بنامِ وجوهات و فروعات ○ خلاصهٔ سخن انکه آنچه براراضيِ مزروعي از راه ربع قرار يابد آنرا مال گويند و از انواعِ محترفهٔ گزيده جهات خوانند و باقي را سائر جهات و آنچه متفرّع بر مال باشد آنرا وجوهات گويند اگر بديوان رود ورنه فروعات نامند

Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 294, ll. 12-16.)

"In every kingdom Government taxes the property of the subject over and above the land revenue, and this they call *Tamqha.* In Irân and Turân, they collect the land tax (mâl) from some, from others the *Jihât*, and from others again the *Sâir Jihât*, while other cesses under the name of *Wajûhât* and Farûa'ât are exacted. In short, what is imposed on cultivated lands by way of quit-rent is termed *Mâl.* Imports (? imposts) on manufactures of respectable kinds are called *Jihât*, and the remainder *Sâir Jihât.* Extra collections over and above the land tax if taken by revenue officers are *Wajuhât;* otherwise they are termed Farnaât." (The Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. II., translated by Jarrett, pp. 57-58.) From another part of the Âin-i-Akbari (Bk. II., Âin 11, on *sanads*) we learn that the entries about this *mâl* or land tax formed one of the three parts in which the *Daftar* of the empire was divided. We read there

ابواب المال از خراجِ ملک باز گويد و افزوني و کمي بر خواند و هر گونه خواستهٔ که فراهم آيد در آن بنگارند Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 193, ll. 22-23):—

"The *Abwâb ul mâl* or entries referring to the revenue of the country. This part of the *Daftar* explains the revenue of the empire, details any increase or decrease, and specifies every other source of income (as presents, &c.)" (Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I., p. 260.)

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

imposts on manufactures [1] and capitation taxes [2] and the rest of the taxes,[3] such as imposts [4] and

---

[1] جهات *Vide* the preceding note.

[2] اخراجات from خراج capitation tax. The Âin-i-Akbari (Bk. III., Âin VII. on رواج روزی *i.e.*, currency of the means of subsistence) says of this tax در باستان از سر آدم چیزی بر گرفتی و خراج بر خواندی (Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 292, ll. 24-25). "In ancient times a capitation tax was imposed called *Khirâj*" (Âin-i-Akbari translation, Vol. II., Jarrett, p. 55). In the same Ain it also said آنکه بیگانگان دین بران مالح نموده باشند انرا خراجي شمرند و خراج خراجي را بردو گونه پندارند مقاسمه از پنجم تا ششم بخش خراج وظیفه آنکه در خور توانائي و سودمندي قرار دهند و طایفهٔ اصل مال ارتفاعي را خراج گویند و چون حصهٔ آن گروه از خرج ایشان افزون آید بشرطي چند زکوة ازان بر گیرند و آنرا عشر نامند

Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 294, ll. 5-9). "Land which those outside the faith retain on convention. This they call *khirâji*. Tribute paid by *khirâji* lands is of two kinds: (1) *Mukâsamâh* (divided) is the 5th or 6th produce of the soil. (2) *Wazifah* which is settled according to the capability and convenience of the tributaries. Some call the whole produce of the revenue *khirâj* and as the share of the producing body is in excess of their expenditure, the Zakât is taken from the amount under certain stipulations, and this they call a tithe (Translation, Jarrett, Vol. II., p. 57).

[3] سائر جهات *Sâir Jahât, vide* p. 98, n. 2. Jarrett says of this word "In its original purport, the word signifies moving, walking, or the remainder: from the latter it came to denote the *remaining* of all other sources of revenue in addition to the land tax from a variety of imposts, a customs, transit dues, houses, fees, market tax, &c." (Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. II., Jarrett, p. 58, n. 1.)

[4] This word is not clear and legible. One may read it قلعه *qu'la*. It would mean "anything paid into the exchequer unweighed; borrowed money" (Steingass). I think it is the same as قنلغه spoken of as one of the imposts of king Akbar's time in the Âin-i-Akbari (Bk. III., Âin XI. Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 301, l. 8). Another MS. gives the word as قتلغه. In Blochmann's text the word is marked as doubtful. Jarrett has not translated it, saying he "cannot trace it." (Translation, Vol. II., p. 67, note 1.)

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

presents [1] and fines [2] and village assessments [3] and marriage fees [4] and Dârogha's fees [5] and tax-gatherer's fees [6] and five per

---

[1] پیشکش It appears from the Âin-i-Akbari (Bk. III., Ain XI. Blochmann's *text*, Vol. I., p. 301, l. 6, translation. Jarrett, Vol. II., p. 66) that *pishkash* was one of the imposts (وجوہات *wajûhât*) of king Akbar's time. It is "a magnificent present, such as is only presented to princes, great men, superiors, or sometimes to equals (particularly on receiving a great appointment)." (Steingass.)

[2] جرمانہ *jurmâna*, "penalty, forfeit, fine." (Steingass.)

[3] ضابطانہ We find from the Âin-i-Akbari (Bk. III., Ain 15, Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 417, l. 16. Translation, Vol. II., Jarrett, p. 153) that ضبطي *zabti* is a kind of special rate for the revenue from crops. Jarrett says "*Abul Fazl*, employs it loosely elsewhere for the revenue collection or assessment of a village" (*Ibid*, p. 153, n. 1). The word ضابط means "a governor, commander, superior or chief." So perhaps the word may mean "payments due to the chief of a town."

[4] مہرانہ *mahranah*, "a fee exacted by the *Qâzi* from the Muhammadans at weddings." (Steingass.) Perhaps this is a reference to the marriage tax of king Akbar's time, referred to by Abul Fazl in his Âin-i-Akbari. (Bk. II., Ain 24 on کدخدائي marriage. Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 201, Translation, Vol. I., pp. 277-78.) The tax varied according to the position of the parties. "The middle classes pay one Rupee and common people one *dâm*. In demanding this tax, the officers have to pay regard to the circumstances of the father of the bride." (Ibid, p. 278.) Abul Fazl says of this tax that Akbar took it to enable the parties "to show their gratitude. The payment of this tax is looked upon as auspicious." (Ibid, p. 278.)

[5] داروغگانہ According to the Âin-i-Akbari (Bk. III., Ain XI. Blochmann's text, p. 301, l. 6, Translation, Vol. II., Jarrett, p. 66.) Dârô-ghâna was one of the imposts (*wajûhât*) of king Akbar's time. Dârôgha according to Steingass is the "headman of an office, prefect of a town or village, overseer or superintendent of any department."

[6] محصلانہ "Fees of the bailiff or tax-gatherer' (Steingass). I think it is the same impost as that spoken of as تحصیلداری (*tahsildar's fees*) in the Âin-i-Akbari (Bk. III., Ain XI., Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 301, l. 6, Translation, Vol. II., Jarrett, p. 66).

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

cent[1] tax and two per cent[2] tax and *kânungûi*,[3] (*i.e.*, fees of the officer acquainted with land tenures) and burdens[4] for cultivation and gardening and *zakât*[5] of duties on

[1] دہ نیم *deh-nim* (Lit. half of ten, *i.e.*) five per cent. This tax on manufactures is alluded to in the Âin-i-Akbari (Bk. III., Âin XI., Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 300, l. 21. Translation, Vol. II., Jarrett, p. 66). This and the following two imposts, viz., صد دوئی *sad-dûi*, *i.e.*, two per cent., and قانون گوئی *kânûngui* are explained in the following passage of the above-mentioned 11th Âin (Blochman's Text I., Vol. I, p. 300, ll. 21-24):—

شهریار آگاه دل درمال بدانسان که گذارش یافت نوازش فرمود
درجهات دہ یک بخشودہ دہ نیم قرار داد و صددوئی پتواري نصفی بدو
ونیمي بقانون گو باز گردد ° نخستین نویسندہ ایست ازطرف برزگران
خرج ودخل نویسد وهیچ دیه بی او نباشد ° و پسین ملاذ کشاورزان ودر
هرپرگنه یکي بود ° و امروز حصه قانونگو بر انداختند و بشرط خدمت
گزیني سه گونه از درگاه یابند

"His Majesty in his wisdom thus regulated the revenues in the above-mentioned favourable manner. He reduced the duty on manufactures from ten to five per cent. (*deh-nîm*), and two per cent (*sad-dûi*) was divided between the *patwari* and the *kânûngo*. The former is a writer employed on the part of the cultivator. He keeps an account of receipts and disbursements, and no village is without one. The latter is the refuge of the husbandman. There is one in every district. At the present time the share of the *kânûngo* (one per cent.) is remitted, and the three classes of them are paid by the State according to their rank."

[2] *Vide* the above note. Lit. two in the hundred, *i.e.*, two per cent.

[3] *Vide* the above note. His fee is one per cent. Jarrett says as follows of the *kânûngo*:—"An officer in each district acquainted with its customs and land-tenures and whose appointment is usually hereditary. He receives report from the *patwâris* of new cases of alluvion and diluvion, sales, leases, gifts of land, &c., which entail a change in the register of mutations. He is a revenue officer and subordinate to the *tahsildâr* (Jarrett, Vol. II., p. 47, n. 3).

[4] تکرار also means 'disputes' and 'repetitions'.

[5] This word is written زکوٰۃ or زکاۃ *Vide* above, p. 99, n. 2, for this word. From the passage of the 8th *Âin* of the Âin-i-Akbari there quoted, it appears, that this impost amounted to the tenth part of the produce. Jarrett says as follows of this tax: "The poor rate, the portion therefrom given as the due of God by the possessor that he may *purify* it thereby, the root of the word, زکا denoting purity. The proportion varies, but is generally a fortieth or 2½ p. c., provided that the property is of a certain amount and has been in possession eleven months" (Âin-i-Akbari, II., Jarrett, p. 57, n. 4).

54234

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

manufactures[1] and assessments,[2] no molestations should be given him every year, after (*i.e.* beyond) the ascertainment of the grant (*chak*) and all civil taxes[3] and all royal revenue. And (that) excusing and absolving[4] him of all charges,[5] they should not go round (him)[6] and should not ask every year for renewed[7] *farmâns* and *parvanchahs*[8] in this matter. And that when (it, *i. e.* the *Farmân*) comes with the royal signet[9] of His most exalted[10] Majesty, they should rely upon it. Written on the tenth of the last month Asfandârmaz of the 40th *ilâhi* year.[11]

Explanation of the Ta'liqah.[12]

---

[1] جهات "Duties on manufactures" (Steingass). *Vide* the passage quoted on p. 98, n. 2, from the Âin-i-Akbari (Bk. III., 7th Ain).

[2] ضبط *Vide* the reference to the 15th *Ain* (Bk. III) on p. 100, n. 3, for this word.

[3] تکالیف pl. of تکلیف "impositions, levies, taxes."

[4] موقوف القلم *marfû'u'l qalam*, absolved, remitted.

[5] حوالات pl. of حوالة transfer, commitment, charge, care.

[6] پیرامون گردیدن To go round. Here the meaning is, that the officials should not go round him, or round his land, *i.e.*, should, in no way, disturb or molest him. [7] Arab. مجدد *mujaddad*, renewed.

[8] The Ain-i-Akbari (Bk. II., Ain 11) says گاه فرمان بعنوان طغرا بنویسند و دو سطر نخستین کوتاه نگردانند آنرا پروانچه بر گویند (Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 195, ll. 7-8.) "Firmâns are sometimes written in *Tughrâ* character; but the two first lines are not made short. Such a *Farmân* is called a *Parwânchah*. (Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I., p. 263.)

[9] توقیع *tauqîa* "signing with the royal signet; the royal signet put to diplomas, letters patent and other public deeds." (Steingass.)

[10] اعلی *a'lâ* most exalted. The word looks like this, but it may be اجل (most glorious), which we find in its stead in the second *farmân*. This sentence may refer to the person. [11] *Roz.* 10-12-964, *i. e.*, 1595.

[12] *Sharh-i-ta'liqah*. تعلیقه *taliqah* is a technical term used in the Âin-i-Akbari or an abridgment of the *yâddâsht* (*i. e.*, memorandum) of His Majesty's orders about the *farmâns*, etc. Its explanation in details is said to be its شرح *sharh*. The following passages from the 10th and 11th Âins will explain who made this *yaddasht*, or memorandum and *taliqah* or abridgment, and how they were made, and why this abridgment of the memorandum has been added here. We read the following in the 10th Âin on the واقع نویس *waqiahnawis* (*i.e.*, the writer of events). "Keeping records is an excellent thing for a government . . . . . His Majesty has appointed fourteen zealous, experienced, and impartial clerks, two of whom do daily duty in rotation, so that the turn

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

(His Majesty) had ordered on the date, the 13th day Tir, month Abân, *ilâhi* year 40, that about three hundred *bigâhs* of land, together with palm and date trees, &c., which are growing on that land, may be assigned, in the environs of the town of Naôsâri, &c., as detailed below[1], for the purpose of the assistance of

---

(نوبت *naôbat*) of each comes after a fortnight . . . . . Their duty is to write down the orders and the doings of His Majesty and whatever the heads of the departments report; . . . . . the acts of His Majesty as the spiritual guide of the nation; . . . . . appointments to mançabs; contingents; of troops; salaries; jagirs.

"After the diary has been corrected by one of His Majesty's servants, it is laid before the emperor, and approved by him. The clerk then makes a copy of each report, signs it, and hands it over to those who require it as a voucher, when it is also signed by the *Parwânchi*, by the *Mir 'Arz*, and by that person who laid it before His Majesty. The report in this state is called *yâddâsht* (یاد داشت) or memorandum.

"Besides, there are several copyists who write a good hand and a lucid style. They receive the *yâddâsht* when completed, keep it with themselves, and make a proper abridgment of it. After signing it, they return this instead of the *yâddâsht*, when the abridgment is signed and sealed by the *Wâqiah-nawis*, and the *Risâlahdâr*, the *Mir 'Arz* and the *Dârogah*. The abridgment, thus completed, is called *Ta'liqah* and the writer is called *Taliqahnawis*. The *Ta'liqah* is then signed, as stated above, and sealed by the ministers of State" (Blochmann's Translation I., pp. 258-259, Text I., pp. 192-3).

This passage of the 10th Âin then explains the terms *ta'liqah* تعلیقہ (abridgment of memorandum), *wâqi'ah* واقعہ (event or record), *wâqi'ahnawis* واقعہ نویس (writer of records), and *risâlah* رسالہ (writing or record) which occur in these *Farmâns*.

The following passage of the 11th *Âin* explains why this *Taliqah* or abridgment of the memorandum of the king's orders has been entered on the back of the *Farmân*. "The Çâhib-i-Taujîh (صاحب توجیہ or Military accountant) keeps the former Taliqah with himself, writes its details on the *Farmân* (صاحب توجیہ آخرین تعلیقہ را پیش خود نگاہ دارد و شرح) and seals and signs it. It is then (آنرا در ضمن فرمان نویسد) inspected by the *Mustaufi* and is signed and sealed by him. Afterwards the *Nâzir* and the *Bakhshis* do so likewise, when it is sealed by the Diwân, his Accountant, and the *Vakil* of the State." (Blochmann's Translation I., pp. 261-62, Text I., pp. 194, ll. 13-14.)

[1] ذیل "appendix, postscript." بموجب تفصیل ذیل or ازقرار تفصیل ذیل "as detailed below; in accordance with the following statement." (Steingass.)

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

livelihood of Parsi Kaikôbâd, son of Mâhyâr. Whereas, before this time, on the 15th day of the month Meher, *ilâhi* year 40, an order was issued (which) as it had not been entered with particulars into the records, [1] it has been entered in details in the *rasâlah* and *chauki*, [2] of A'llâmî [3] Shaik Abul Fazl, who protects emoluments, overflows in power, and knows truths and all sorts of knowledge, and in the *naubat* of the *waqiah* of Khwâjah Muizzuddîn Hussain.

The marginal note (written) by the hand of *Wâqiah-nawis*. The explanation of the text[4] is according to the record of humblest slave Muizzuddîn Hussain.

---

[1] واقعه *wâqi'ah*, an event, record. واقعه نويس *wâqi'ahnawis* or recorder was an officer in king Akbar's time, in each Çubâh. There is a separate Âin (Bk. II. in Âin 10) about his work in the Âin-i-Akbari (Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p.192, l.25, Translation, Vol. I., p.258). His duty is thus described in the above âin

فرمودة و كاركرد گيتي خداوند برنويسد.....منصب تابين مايانه جاگير..

"Their duty is to write down the orders and the doings of His Majesty . . . . . appointments to mançabs; contingents of troops; salaries; *Jagirs*. . . . . "

[2] The following passage in the Âin-i-Akbari (Bk. II., Âin IX., the âin of كشك, *i.e.*, hall or parlour) seems to explain this word.

بزبان وقت چوكي خوانند سرگونه بود سپاه چهار گونه پخت بخش شد و هريک بروزي نامزد و اميري بزرگ پوش بسر كردگي سرافراز يكي از طرزدانان معاملة شناس بمير عرضي چهرة افروز سعادت گردد و همگي احكام خلافت بشناساني اين دو فرويده مرد روائي گيرد شبانروزي پيرامن دولتخانه بر نيايش ايستند و در انتظار فرمايش بنشينند

(Blochmann's text, Vol. I, p. 192, ll. 4-7.) "Mounting guard is called in Hindi *chauki*. There are three kinds of guards. The four divisions of the army have been divided into seven parts, each of which is appointed for one day, under the superintendence of a trustworthy Mançabdâr. Another, fully acquainted with all ceremonies at Court, is appointed as Mir'Arz. All orders of His Majesty are made known through these two officers. They are day and night in attendance about the palace, ready for any orders His Majesty may issue." (Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I., p. 257.) It appears, that the particular officer, in whose turn of *chauki* the king issued orders or Farmâns, took notes in his books. [3] علامى, very learned. It was a title given by Akbar to Abul Fazl. (Badaoni Text II., p. 198, l. 11, Lowe II, p. 201.)

[4] متن *matn*, the text of a book.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Another *sharh* (is) in the hand of Mulla Nazar. From the assignment of the Jâgirdâr the assignment[1] should be made with the *ilâhi gaz* from the season of *kharif kuel*.

300 *bigâhs*.

Village[2] Erui[3] in the *paragnah*[4] Párchôl.

100 *bigâhs*.
With *sah*.

In the environs (*sawâd*) of the town of Naôsâri, where the above-mentioned land was, ere this, for the purpose of the assistance of livelihood of Mâhyâr.

200 *bigâhs*.
With *sah*.[5]

Translation of the Persian lines on the first fold, of the lines on the margin which give dates, and of the lines under the different seals.

1. (First marginal line.) Date 29, month Asfandârmaz, Ilâhi year 40.[6] (It is not clear what the figure ۲ (two) in the beginning indicates.)

2. (Second marginal line.) Copy taken on the first day of the month Farvardin Ilâhi, year 41.

3. (The two lines on the first fold.) In the *rasalah* and *chauki* of Nawâb Shaikh Abul Fazl, who protects emoluments, diffuses power and knows truths and all sorts of knowledge and in the *naubat* (turn) of the Wâqiahnawis Muizzuddin Hussain with *sah*.[7]

4. (Seal No. 1) Khân Khânân, the follower of king Akbar.

5. (Seal No. 2) Mirzâ Kokâh.
(Seals Nos. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, not legible.)

6. (Seal No. 6) Humblest slave, Çadr Jahân Al Hussaini.

---

[1] تنخواه "an assignment on lands." [2] قریتہ *karyat* village.

[3] *Vide* above, p. 40, n. 5. [4] According to Elliot *Sarkâr* is "a district into which *parganahs* are aggregated." Jarrett (Âin-i-Akbari, Jarrett's Translation, Vol. II., p. 114 n.) says, "Each *sûbah* is divided into a certain number of *sarkârs* and each *sarkâr* into *parganahs* or *mahals*."

[5] صح *i. e.* with صح *sah*, which is an abbreviation of صحیح sahih, *i. e.* "official signature to attest the authenticity of a deed."

[6] Perhaps this is the marginal note of the *Waqiahnawis*, as referred to in the Farmân as the marginal *sharh*, of the *waqiahnawis*.

[7] The last word after this is the same as that written above under the figures 100 and 200.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

7. (Date under Seal No. 7.) Entered on day 7 (?) month Asfardârmaz, Ilâhi year 40.

8. (Date under Seal No. 8.) Entered on day (?), month Ardibehesht, year 41. (There are one or two words at the end which are not legible or intelligible.)

9. (Seal No. 9.) Nazar Ali bin Hussain.

10. (Date under Seal No. 9.) Written on the day, the first day (*ghurra*), of the month Farvardin, year 41.

11. (Seal No. 10) Praying slave Hussain Kamâluddin.

12. (Date under Seal No. 10.) Became informed on day 29, month Asfandârmaz, Ilâhi year 40.

13. (Seal No. 11) Servant Hussain Kamâluddin.

14. (Date under Seal No. 11) Written on 29 Asfardârmaz, Ilâhi year 40.

Having given the translation of the first *farmân*, we will now examine the seals on the *farmân*. We have, at the top of the *farmân*, the seal of His Majesty. This is just in conformity to what Abul Fazl says about the position of king Akbar's seal. He says, "The seal of His Majesty is put above the *Tughra* [1] lines on the top of the *farmân*," (vol. I., p. 264) (قدسی مہر فراز طغرا روی فرمان آرایہ) (lit. the holy seal adorns the face of the *farmân* above the *Tughra*). King Akbar's seal on our *farmân* is just at the top and just above the lines in which the title and name of the king are written.

As to the form of Akbar's seal, Abul Fazl, in his Âin-i-Akbari (Bk. I., Aîn. 20), says, as follows, about the royal seals. (نگین شاہنشاہی).

"In the beginning of the present reign, Maulânâ Maqçud, the seal engraver, cut in a circular form upon a surface of steel, in the *riqá'* character, the name of His Majesty and those of his illustrious ancestors up to Tîmûrlang; and afterwards he cut another similar seal in the *nastáliq* character, only with His Majesty's name . . . . . The round small seal goes by the (chagatai) name of Uzuk, and is used for *Farmán-i-sabtis*; and the large one, into which he cut the names of the ancestors of His Majesty, was at first only used for

[1] طغرا "The royal titles prefixed to letters, diplomas or other public deeds which are generally written in a fine ornamental hand; a sort of writing."—*Steingass*.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

letters to foreign kings, but now-a-days for both." (Blochmann's translation I, p. 52, Text I., p. 47, l. 18.) The seal on the two *farmâns* given to Dastur Meherji Rana's son Kaikobâd, in which the 200 bigâhs of land given to Meherji Rana are referred to, is the large one in which the names of Akbar's ancestors are mentioned. The following list, prepared from the pedigree of the house of Tîmur, given in Elphinstone's *History of India*,[1] gives the names of Akbar's ancestors.

Tîmur—Mirân Shâh Hosein—Mohammed Mirzâ—Abû Said—Omar Shekh—Bâber—Humâyûn—Akbar. This list gives us eight names, Timur and Akbar included.

The circular seal of Akbar on the *farmâns* in question, has eight circles, each of which contains the name of one of the above-named eight kings. The central circle is a large one and contains the name of king Akbar himself. The document being very old, the photo and the photo-litho have not come out as one would wish. But in the original document, one can decipher the names with a magnifying glass, though with a little difficulty.

The king's name in the central circle is Jalâluddin Muhammad Akbar Bádsháh. The name is read from below.

Exactly above the circle of his name, stands the circle, containing his ancestor Tîmur's name. It is "ibn Amir Timur Saheb-i-quirân." Saheb-i-quirân was a title of Tîmur. The word "*ibn*" is used in the sense of "son" with all names except that of Akbar. It means that the first named was the son of the next and so on up to Timur. Just as now-a-days, in round seals and monograms, people arrange their names and initials in the best stylish way they like, so we find it in the case of the above seal and names. ابن امیر تیمور صاحب قران is the order in which the name seems to be written from below.

Coming down by the left, from the top circle, which contains Tîmur's name, we find one by one, the names of his descendants. In the first circle, on the left coming down from the top, we read ابن میران شاہ *ibn*-i-Mirân Shâh. This is Tîmur's son, Mirân Shâh Hosein of Elphinstone's list. The next name lower down is *ibn*-i-Sultân Muhammed Mirzâ. Then comes the name at the bottom, *ibn*-i-Sultân Abul-Said. In all these last three names, the word *ibn* begins the line from the

[1] Fifth Edition by Cowell (1866), p. 773.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

bottom and the word Sultân is above it. Then going up on the right from below, we have the name ibn Mirzâ Omar Shekh. Then we have in the ascending order the two familiar names, ibn-Bâdshâh Bâbar and ibn Bâdshâh Hûmâyûn. The order of the names in the seal would be Jalâluddin Muhammad Akbar Bâdshâh, the son of Bâdshâh Humâyûn, the son of Bâdshâh Bâbar, and so on up to Timur. The document being very old, the deciphering of some of the names is a little difficult.

Now we will examine the seals of the different officers placed at the end of the document. In those times, seals took the place of signatures of the present day. Abul Fazal says in his Âin-i-Akbari on this point

بل هرگروه را در معامله ناگزیر *i. e.* "in fact every man requires them in his transactions" (Blochmann's text, I., p. 47, ll. 17, 18. Translation I., p. 52, Bk. I., Ain, 20). Blochmann says, "We sign documents, Orientals stamp their names to them." (*ibid* n. 2.)

There are altogether eleven seals attached to the document, besides that of the king at the commencement. Of these eleven, six are more or less legible and five are illegible. The way, in which the seals are affixed, as well as the names on the seals, require an explanation. To enable the reader to follow me in this explanation, I have put in the printed Persian copy of the *farmân*, progressive numbers in English figures over the circles of the seals.

The position of the seals can be more exactly ascertained by looking to the photo-lithographed fac simile.

First of all, we notice, that the position of the document, after the mention of the situation of the 300 *bighâhs*, is inverted, *i.e.*, the signatories turn the document upside down, as it were, and then proceed to put down their seals and their statements about the dates on which the documents were noted in their respective records (*vide* the original photo-litho facsimile). The reason, why these seals appear in an inverted order, is explained by the following paragraph of the Âin-i-Akbari (Bk. II, Ain 12), which says that the seals were put in the order of the folds (شکنجی) of the document. So holding the document in our hands in the position in which it commences, the first fold will present the bottom of the other side of the document, where we find the seals of the principal officers. The passage of the Ain-i-Akbari on this subject says:—

"Farmâns, Parwanchahs, and Barâtas, are made into several

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

folds beginning from the bottom. On the first fold[1] which is less broad, at a place towards the edge where the paper is cut off, the Vakil puts his seal; opposite to it, but a little lower, the Mushrif[2] of the Diwân[3] puts his seal, in such a manner that half of it goes to the second fold. Then, in like manner but a little lower, comes the seal of the Çadr. But when Shaikh Abdunnabî and Sultân Khwâjah were Çadrs, they used to put their seals opposite to that of the Vakîl. In the middle of that fold is the place where that person puts his seal who comes nearest in rank to the Vakil. . . The Mîr Mâl, the Khân Sâmân, the Parwânchî, &c., seal on the second fold, but in such a manner that a smaller part of their seals goes to the first fold. The seals of the Diwan, and the Bakhshî do not go beyond the edge of the second fold, whilst the Dîwân-i-juz, the Bakhshî-i-juz, and the Dîwan-i-Buyûtât put their seals on the third fold. The Mustaufi puts his seal on the fourth, and the Çâhib-i-Taujih on the fifth fold. The seal of His Majesty is put above the *Tughrâ* lines on the top of the Farmân, where the princes also put their seals in *Ta'liqahs*." (Blochmann's Text, Vol. I., p. 195, l. 19. Translation, Vol. I., pp. 263-64.)

We must note, that this is a general statement for the positions of the seals of the officers named in the passage, when they have to sign documents. It applies to *farmâns*, *parwânchahs* and *barâts* (*i.e.*, cheque farmâns). So it appears that all the officers named above need not sign all the documents.

We will now proceed to examine the position of the seals and the names of the signatories.

At first on the first fold in the middle we find two lines saying that the document has been noted in the *rasalah* and *chauki* of Abul Fazl, who was the officer in charge of those posts.

The following passage in the Âin-i-Akbari (Book II., Âin 19) explains why Abul Fazl had also to take, at times, a note of the grants of *jágirs*.

"On account of the general peace and security in the empire, the grant-holders commenced to lay out their lands in gardens, and thereby derived so much profit, that it tempted the greediness of the

---

[1] لخت *lakht*, portion, part, bit. The text is نخستین لختي کم پهنا

[2] مشرف an officer in a treasury who authenticates accounts and writings.

[3] دیوان is the officer who keeps the jagir accounts.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Government officers, who had certain notions of how much was sufficient for *Sayûrghal*-holders, to demand revenue taxes; but this displeased His Majesty, who commanded that such profits should not be interfered with. Again, when it was found out that holders of one hundred bîg'hahs and even less were guilty of bribery, the order was given that Mir Çadr Jahân should bring these people before His Majesty; and afterwards it was determined that the Çadr, with the concurrence of the writer of this work, should either increase or decrease the grants "چنان قرار گرفت که صدر بصلاح دید را قم شگرف ناصر زیاده و کم سازد (Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I., pp. 269-70. Text I., p. 199, l. 10.) This passage says that the Çadr had to seek "the concurrence of the writer of this work," *i.e.* Abul Fazl.

We see, that, by the side of the seal of the Çadr, of whom we will speak later on, we find the note, that the document has been recorded in the records of Abul Fazl. In the same above-mentioned two lines, it is also noted, that it is recorded in the record of the turn (*naubat*) of the *wâqiahnawis* Muizzuddin Hussain. The following passage of the Âin-i-Akbari (Book II., Âin 10) explains, who the officer was, and why he had to take a note of the grant of jâgirs, and why it is put down on the document in question that it has been entered in his record.

"Keeping records is an excellent thing for a Government . . . His Majesty has appointed fourteen zealous, experienced, and impartial clerks, two of whom do daily duty in rotation, so that the turn (نوبت *naubat*) of each comes after a fortnight . . . . Their duty is to write down the orders and the doings of His Majesty and whatever the heads of the departments report . . . . appointments to mançabs, contingents of troops, salaries, jagirs . . . . ." (Blochmann's Translation I., p. 258, Text I., p. 192, l. 20).

This passage then says, that one *waqi'ahnawis* was, according to his turn (نوبت *naubat*), always in attendance upon His Majesty and took notes, among other doings of His Majesty, of his grants of jagirs, &c. Hence it is, that we find that in the *farmân* under examination, the name of the *waqi'ahnawis*, during whose turn of office, the grant was made by the king, and in whose records it was entered, is mentioned. This *waqi'ahnawis* is one Muizzuddin Hussain. Now we come to the seals.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Seal No. 1.—On the extreme right of the above two lines, at the edge, first of all, we find a seal, on which we can distinctly read the name مرید اکبر شاہ خان خانان Murid-i-Akbar Shâh Khân Khânân.

In the matter of this seal, we must note, what the above passage, of the Âin-i-Akbari, says about the first fold. It says نخستین تختی کم پہنا بر کنار پشت پیوست جائی کہ قطع کنند مہر وکیل شود "on the first-fold, which is less broad, at a place towards the edge where the paper is cut off, the Vakil puts his seal." (Blochmann's Text I., p. 195, ll. 19-20. Translation I., p. 263.)

We see in the case of both the original farmâns that are produced, that a portion of the paper at the right hand corner at the bottom (which when folded forms the first-fold), is cut off, and it is just at the edge, where the paper is cut off, that the seal of this Khân Khânân, who was the Vakil at this period (1003 Hijri), occurs.

We gather the following particulars about this personage from Blochmann's Âin-i-Akbari.

Murid-i-Akbar Shâh Khân Khânân. His full name was Khân Khânân Mirzâ Abdurrahim. When his father Bairâm Khân was murdered, he was a small child. Akbar took charge of him. Khân Khânân was the title conferred upon him in 992 Hijri for his victories. (Badaôni. Lowe's Translation II., p. 346.) In the 25th year of Akbar's reign he was appointed Mir 'Arz and in the 34th year Vakil. He died in 1038 Hijri.

He calls himself in his seal, *murid*, *i.e.*, a disciple or follower of Akbar Shah. He was one of the grandees of Akbar's court named by Abul Fazl in his Âin-i-Akbar (Blochmann I., p. 334-38, No. 29).

Seal No. 2.—The next seal, on the right of the above two lines of Abul Fazl's and Muizzuddin's records, and a little on the left of the above-named seal of Khân Khânân, is that of Mirzâ Kokâh. The name is clearly legible. We gather the following particulars about this personage and of the different offices that he filled in Akbar's court.

His full name is Khân-i-A'zam Mirzâ 'Aziz Kokah. He was a great favourite of Akbar. He is one of the grandees (No. 21) mentioned by Abul Fazl in his Âin-i-Akbari. In the 34th year of Akbar's reign, he was appointed Governor of Gujrat. In the 39th year he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca and joined Akbar in the beginning of 1003 Hijri. He was made Vakil in 1004. Âzam Khan was

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the title latterly bestowed upon him. (Blochmann's Âin-i-Akbari I., p. 325-27.)

Now in what capacity is it, that Mirzâ Kokah signs this document. He was not the Vakil, because the Vakil of the time of this document (the 40th of Akbar's reign, *i.e.*, 1003 Hijri) was, as said above, Khân Khânân, and he himself was appointed Vakil, as said above, in the next year, *i.e.*, 1004 Hijri. So he seems to have signed it as "one who comes nearest in rank to the Vakil." In the above quoted passage about the order of the seals (Book II., Âin 12) we read

میان آن شکنج جاي کسي است که رتبهٔ او نزدیک وکالت باشد
چنانچه اتکه خان در زمان منعم خان و ادهم خان

(Blochmann's Text I., p. 195, ll. 22-23.)

"In the middle of that fold (*i.e.*, the first-fold), is the place where that person puts his seal who comes nearest in rank to the Vakil, as Atkah Khan did at the time of Mun'im Khân and Adham Khân. (Translation I., p. 263.)

To understand the above allusion, and to understand how it applies to the case of Mirza Kokah in the document under question, we must look to the list of vakils or prime-ministers given by Abul Fazl in his Âin-i-Akbari (Book II, Âin 29. Blochmann's Text, Vol. I., p. 232, ll. 7-8. Translation I., p. 527). Blochmann says (*ibid.*, p. 527, n. 1) that Abul Fazl's list is not complete. But, as it is, it is as follows :—

Bairâm Khân, Mun'im Khân, Atgah Khân, Bahâdur Khân, Khwâjah Jahân, Khân Khânân Mirzâ Khân (خان خانان میرزا خان) Khân-i-A'zam Mîrzâ Kokah (خان اعظم میرزا کوکه)

Now in the above passage of the 12th Âin, Abul Fazl says, that when Munim Khan and Adham Khân[1] were Vakils in turn, Atkah Khân, who was nearest in rank to each of them, put his seal in the farmâns, &c., on the first-fold. We find from the above list, that this Atkah Khân himself was subsequently appointed a vakil. This shows that the person who is intended to be the next successor to the vakilship, is considered to be the "nearest in rank" or what we,

[1] Abul Fazl does not give Adam Khân's name in the list, in the 30th *ain*. He has evidently forgotten to give it, because he clearly says here that he acted as a Vakil. As Mun'im Khân came to Vakilship after Bairam Khân (Blochmann's Translation I., p. 323), it is clear that Adam Khân succeeded Munim Khân.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

in modern parlance, call "assistant." This nearest in rank or assistant generally succeeded to the place at the first vacancy. Now as we find from the above list that Mirzâ Kokah was occupant of the post of Vakilship in Akbar's Court, and as we further see that he was appointed to the post in 1004 Hijri, it is quite clear, that in 1003, *i.e.*, in the 40th year of Akbar's reign, when the Farmân in question was granted, he was "the nearest in rank" to the Vakil, Khân Khânân. Hence it is, that next to the seal of Khan Khânân, the Vakil and his immediate superior, we find his seal as that of the nearest in rank or assistant.

The above passage of the Âin allots "the middle" of the first fold to the seal of "the nearest in rank to the Vakil," and we find Mirza Kokah's seal in the middle of the first fold. By the term میان *miân*, *i.e.*, middle, we must not take it to mean the middle of the fold held horizontally, *i.e.*, the middle of the breadth of the paper of the document, but the middle of the breadth of the fold itself.

Seal No. 3.—It is altogether indistinct and illegible.

Seals Nos. 4 and 5.—They are both illegible. They are just near the two lines which mention that the document has been recorded in the *risalah* and *chauki* of Shaik Abul Fazl and the *Waqiahnawis* Muizzuddin Hussain. So very likely they are the seals of these two officers. On the first (No. 4) of this set of two seals, a word Shaik شیخ, is a little legible. It appears more so with the help of a magnifying glass. So this seems to be the seal of Shaikh Abul Fazl. The second (No. 5) of these two seals may be that of the *Waqiahnâwis* Muizzuddin.

Seal No. 6.—On the left of the above-mentioned two lines, and opposite to the seals of Khân Khânân and Mirzâ Kokah, but a little lower, we have a seal, the writing on which is a little clear and legible. It is Al Hussaini Çadr Jahân Kamtarin Bandeh (الحسینی صدر جہان کمترین بندہ) *i.e.*, humblest slave Çadr Jahân Al Hussaini. We read in the above Âin of seals, "Opposite to it (*i.e.*, the Vakil's seal), but a little lower,[1] the Mushrif of the Diwân puts his seal in such a manner that half of it goes to the second fold. Then, in like manner but a little lower (پایانتر), comes the seal of the Çadr." This seal then, which bears the name of Çadr Jahân, is the seal of the Çadr, referred to in the Âin-i-Akbari as above. Its position tallies with the situation allotted to it in the above passage of the *Âin*.

[1] واپسٹر vâpaçtar. Vâpaç means "behind, in the back."

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Çadr was an high officer of the State. Abul Fazl says of this officer, "As the circumstances of men have to be inquired into, before grants are made, and their petitions must be considered in fairness, an experienced man of correct intentions is employed for this office. He ought to be at peace with every party, and must be kind towards the people at large in word and action. Such an officer is called Çadr. The Qâzi and the Mir 'Adl are under his orders." (Book II., Âin 19, Blochmann's translation I., p. 268.) Blochmann says that the Çadr, who was also generally styled Çadr-i-Jahân, ranked during Akbar's time, as the fourth officer[1] of the Empire.

The Çadr or Çadr-i-Jahân, at the time when this *Farmân* was issued (1003 Hijri, 40th year of the reign), was a person whose name coincided with his title. Hence it is that we find in the *Farmân* the seal of the Çadr bearing the name Çadr-i-Jahân. We find his name last in the list of Çadrs given by Abul Fazl in the 30th Âin (Blochmann's Text I., p. 232, l. 15; Translation I., p. 528.) He came to office in 997 Hijri. He continued to serve under Jahangir. (Blochmann I., pp. 272-74.)

Seal No. 7.—This seal is quite illegible. It is perhaps the seal of the Mushrif of the Diwan, to whose seal, the above passage of the Âin allots a place in the first fold in the same line with that of the Çadr. It is on the same line and fold with that of Çadr Jahân and quite close to it. As the position of the seal in the *Farmân* is the same as that allotted, in the Âin-i-Akbari, to the seal of the Mushrif-i-Diwan, it appears very probable that this seal is that of that officer. There is one word that is legible on this seal, and that is جهان Jahân. But that word alone does not help us to determine who this personage was and whose seal it is.

Seal No. 8.—This seal is quite illegible. Not a single word or letter can be deciphered. The date, on which it was affixed, is put down under it thus:

ثبت شد فی التاریخ ماه اردیبهشت ۴۱ *i.e.*, entered in the book on the date month Ardibehesht, year 41. At the end of the line there is a word which may be the particular date, but I cannot make it out. The words ثبت شد *sabt shúd*, used in connection with

[1] The four chief officers are (1) Vakils or prime ministers, (2) Vazirs or Ministers of Finance, (3) The Bakhshis, and (4) the Çards.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

this seal, show, that this may be the seal of the Diwân. In the 11th Âin, speaking about the drafts of the *Farmâns*, Abul Fazal says: "The draft is then inspected by the Diwân, who verifies it by writing on it the words *sabt numâyand* (ثبت نمایند *i.e.*, ordered to be entered). The mark of the Daftar, and the seal of the Diwân, the Bakhshi and the Accountant (of) the Diwân (مشرف دیوان Mushrif-i Diwân) are put on the draft in order, when the Imperial grant is written on the outside. The draft thus completed is sent for signature (ثبت *sabt*) to the Diwân."[1] We learn from this passage that *sabt* ثبت seems to be a special technical word for the office of the Diwân. Thus, as the position of the seal in the document is the same as that allotted to the Diwân, and as the phraseology of the date ثبت شد is the same as that attributed to the Diwân in the Âin-i-Akbari, I think it is the seal of the Diwân. From the 12th Âin we learn, that "the seals of the Diwân and the Bakhshi do not go beyond the edge of the second fold" (دیوان و بخشي از شکنج دوم در نگزرد)[2]

Seal No. 9.—This seal is distinct and legible. From the Farmân, as it is folded now, we cannot exactly determine what the first fold of the document was, and up to what the second, third and fourth folds extended. But from the position of the seals in the first fold, as described by the 12th Âin, this seal appears to be on the third fold. It gives the name Nazar Ali bin Hussain. Under the seal we read ۴۱ سنه فروردین ماه غرة فی‌التاریخ شد مرقوم *i.e.*, written on the day, the first day[3] of the month Farvardin of the 41st year. The same date is thus given a little below on the margin of the document written vertically up from below.

غرة ماه فروردین الهی سنه ۴۱ نقل گرفته شد

i.e., copy taken on the first day of the month Farvardin, Ilâhi year 41.

Then the question is, who this personage, Nazar Ali or Ali Nazar is? He gives the date on which he put on the seal and entered the document in his books. He seems to be one of the

---

[1] Blochmann's Translation I., p. 261, Text I., p. 194, ll. 11-13.

[2] Blochmann's Text I., p. 195, l. 24, Translation I., p. 263.

[3] The word may also be read نحرة *nahrat*, "the first day of the new moon: also the last day."

[4] This word can be read *nahrat* also—*vide* above, n. 3.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

officers like the above-mentioned *Wâqiahnawis* Muizzuddin, who had to do something with the original Tâliqah or its Yâddâsht. His name is also mentioned in the body of the Farmân, as one who also had made a *sharh* about the Farmân.[1]

Seal No. 10.—The name on this seal is quite clear and legible. It is داعي بنده حسين كمال الدين *i.e.*, praying slave Hussain Kamâluddin. Under the seal we read

مطلع شد تا[2] ۲۹ ماه اسفندارمز الهی ۴۰

i.e., became informed on the date 29 of the month Asfandârmaz, Ilâhi year 40. The same date is given a little below on the margin of the document in a vertical line. This seal seems to be on the fourth fold which is allotted, in the above-mentioned 12th Âin, to the seal of the Mustaufi (مستوفی), who is an auditor or a controller of accounts. So perhaps this is the seal of that officer. Now it is not certain who this Kamâluddin was. We come across three personages of the name of Kamâluddin in Abkar's time,

1. Mir Kamâluddin Khwâfi, who is said to have served under Akbar, but it is not said under what capacity.[3]

2. Kamâluddin, the father of Abu Turab, who was appointed Mir Hajji by Akbar.[4]

3. Maulana Kamâluddin Husan, father of Maulana Alauddin, who was the teacher of Akbar.[5] This third personage Kamaluddin Husan seems to be the signatory of this *farmân*.

Seal No. 11.—This seal also is quite clear and legible. It is that of Al-Abd[6] Hussain Kamaluddin العبد حسين كمال الدين *i.e.*, servant Hussain Kamaluddin. Under the seal we read قلمی شد ۲۹ اسفندارمز الهي سنه ۴۰ *i.e.*, written on the 29th of Asfandârmaz of the Ilahi year 40. So we find that both the names and the dates of the

---

[1] *Vide* p. 105.

[2] تا is the contraction of تاریخ

[3] Blochmann's Âin-i-Akbari Translation I., p. 445, n. 1.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 506-507.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 540.

[6] عبد servant, slave. In many of the seals we find the signatories attaching some words of humility to their names, such as داعی بنده, کمترین بنده.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

two seals No. 10 and No. 11 are the same. This may be the case perhaps because the same person may have held two offices. This seal is the last and the lowest ; and the last officer, to whom the lowest part of the farmân, the fifth fold, is allotted in the above-quoted passage of the 12th Aîn, is Çahib-Taujîh صاحب نوجیه who is the adjuster of accounts. Just as in the case of the Diwân, the words ثبت شد *sabt-shûd*, used in our Farmân, helped us to think that the seal may have belonged to an officer of the Diwân, in whose connection the same words were used in the Âin-i-Akbari, so the words قلمي شد *qalami shûd* used in the *Farmân* under this 11th and last seal of Kamâluddin, help us to think that this seal may be that of the Çahib-i-Taujih. In the 11th Âin we read that "the Çahib-i-Taujih keeps the former Taliqah[1] with himself." (صاحب نوجیه آخرین تعلیقه را پیش خود نگاه دارد)

Now in the case when the Taliqah was confirmed by the king, and the Jagir conferred, the words written in the report were, according to the above Âin, " *Taliqah-i-tan qalami numayand* تعلیقهٔ تن قلمی نمایند *i.e.*, they are to write out a *taliqah*.[2] So the words *qualami shûd* written under the 11th seal show that as alluded to in the Âin-i-Akbari, this seal may be that, of the Çahib-i-Taujih.

Let us now examine the different dates as given in the Farmân. From the Sharh-i-taliqah, *i.e.*, the details of the abridgment, we learn that His Majesty king Akbar first issued the order of the Farmân on the 15th of the 7th month Meher in the 40th year of his reign (1003 Hijri). The order was recorded on the 13th day Tir of the 8th month Âban of the same year. In accordance with that order, the Farmân was prepared on the 10th day of the 12th month Asfandârmaz of the same year.

Then there are three statements of dates in which we read the month Asfandârmaz of the 40th year. One is under seal No. 7, which is illegible, and in which, the only word that we can read with

---

[1] *i.e.*, the abridgment of the Yâddâsht or memorandum of the affairs of the king. Blochmann's Translation I., p. 261, Text I., p. 194, l. 13.

[2] *Ibid.*, Translation, p. 261, Text I., p. 194, l. 11.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

accuracy is جہان Jahan. It is the date when the Mushrif or some officer attached to the Diwan put the seal. The particular day is not clear. It looks like 7, but that cannot be the date, as it must be one after the 10th. It may be the 17th, or it may be some date in connection with the first *shark*. Then the seals Nos. 10 and 11, those of Kamaluddin, have the dates put under them. These dates are clear. They are the 29th of Asfandârmaz of the 40th year. The same date, we read in one of the two marginal statements. Then we find that one seal (No. 9) of Nazar Ali has the date of the succeeding month, *i.e.*, Farvardin of the 41st year of the reign. This date is also given in the second of the two marginal statements. Then there is one seal (No. 8) which bears the date of the next month Ardibehesht of the 41st year. We notice one thing, and it is this, that all officers did not put down the dates when they attached their seals. Perhaps it was only those, in whose books the Farmâns were regularly recorded or taken note of, who put down the dates of their seals, to facilitate reference to their books in case of necessity. I think Abul Fazl seems to make a distinction, when he uses, in the case of some officers, the words *nishân va môhr* نشان و مهر *i.e.*, sign and seal, and in the case of others simply the word مهر môhr, *i.e.*, the seal. When they put down the dates with their own hands, under their seals, that was meant to be putting their *nishân* or sign. For example, he says that the Çahib-i-Taujih, the Mustaufi, the Nazir and the Bakhshis put on their signs and seals. In the case of the Diwân, his accountant and the Vakil, he uses simply the word seal.[1]

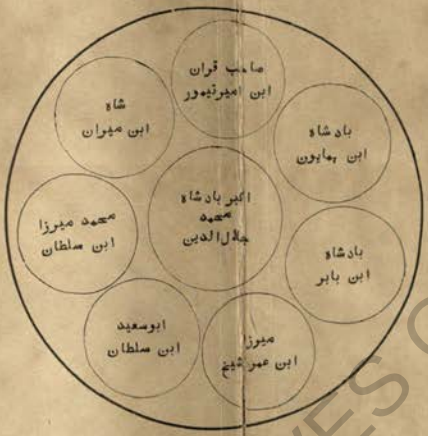
[1] Blochmann's Text I., p. 194, ll. 13-15, Translation I., pp. 261-62.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

الله اکبر

Document No. 2.
(The second Farmân of the 48th year of King Akbar's reign.—*vide* above, p. 40.)



فرمان جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه غازی

درین وقت فرمان عالی شان عنایت نشان شرف بندور و عز ورود یافت که چون سواري سه صد بیگهه زمین
بگز الهي مع درختان نار و خرما وغیره که دران زمین واقع است از سواد قصبه نوساري وغیره بموجب
تفصیل ضمن سابقاً در وجه مدد معاش کیقباد پارسي ولد ماپیار از تعین جاگیردار بموجب فرمان قضا جریان من ابتداء خریف
قوی ایل از سرکار سورت مقرر شده بود که سال بسال حاصل آن را صرف اوقات گذار خود نموده بدعای مزید دولت و اقبال اشتغال مینموده باشد می باید که حکام و عمال و جاگیردار و کوروریان حال
و استقبال آن محال حسب المسطور مقرره آن سر صد بیگهه را بموجبي که در صدر حکم شده بتصرف او باز گذارند و آنچه در سال گذشته و سال حال از حاصل سه صد بیگهه
گرفته باشند پس دهند و دران باب ابهال جایز ندارند و در استمرار و استقرار آن عنایت
کوشیده تغیر و تبدیل ندهند و چیزي ازان اراضي وضع ننمایند و بعلت مال و جهات و اخراجات و سایر جهات مثل قتلغ و
پیشکش و چرملغ و قبالطلغ و میرملغ و دنبوکلغ و مجهولات [illegible] صد دیمي قلیني گیرند
و تکوار زراعت و ترکاري و زکوة الجهني و ضبط پروانه بعد از تشخیص چک و گل نکالیف دیواني و جمیع اخراجات سلطاني
مزاحمت نرسانند ومن کل الوجوه واحوالات معاف ومسلم ومرفوع القلم شمرده پیرامون نگردند

و بهه ساله درین باب فرمان و پروانچه مجدد نطلبند و چون بتوقیع وقع اشرف اجل مزین و معلی گردد اعتماد نمایند تحریراً
في التاریخ ۲ ماه مهر الهي سنه ۴۸

شرح بالحاشیه واقعه بتاریخ روز بهمن ۲ ماه مهر الهی سنه ۴۸ موافق روز پنجشنبه برساله جملة الملکي محمد رالدیامي نظام الرسا
آصف خان در چوکي بخشي الملکي مقرب الحضرت السالاني خواجکي فتح الله

نوبت واقعه نویسی کمترین بندگان محمد شفیع حکم جا[illegible]لمطاع آفتاب شعاع صادر شد که چون سواري سه صد بیگهه زمین بگز الهي
معه درختان نار و خرما وغیره که دران زمین واقع است
از قصبه نوساري وغیره که سابق در وجه مدد معاش کیقباد پارسی ولد ماپیار از تعلقین جاگیردار بموجب فرمان قضا جریان من
ابتداء خریف قوی ایل از سرکار سورت مقرر شده بود که
سال بسال حاصل آن را صرف اوقات گذار خود نموده بدعاي دولت روز افزون اشتغال مینموده باشد حکام و عمال و جاگیردار و
کروري حال و استقبال آنحال را حسب المسطور مقرر دانسته
سر صد بیگهه را بموجبیکه حکم اشرف صادر شد بتصرف او باز گذارند و آنچه در سال گذشته و سال حال از حاصل سه صد بیگهه
گرفته باشد پس دهند بخط واقعه نویس مطابق واقعه است
مثلما بیگهه مقرر موافق فرمان عالیشان سابق برینمو[illegible]ب
مثلما بیگهه

قصبه نوساری که زمین مذکور قبل ازین
درو جه مدد معاش ماپیار بود
۸ بیگهه

قوري از پرگنه تلاری
ما بیگهه

بصح

برسالہ عبدہ المالکی رکن السلطنت الی علیہ اظہار الدولت الی خاقانیہ لایق العلام و الاحسان
بجمالہ المالکی مدار المہامی نظام الرضا اصفہان و در چوکی نقشی المالکی مارب الحضرت السلطانی
خواجگی قلع الدہ و اوزبک واقعہ نوروس محمود شفیع بتاریخ ۲ ماہ میر الٰہی سنہ ۴۵ موافق روز ۱۲ چشنبہ نصع

1

2

3 قلع الدہ

4 الحسینی صدر چوان کمالدین بندہ

5

6

7 الکریم عبد بندہ یزدانی

مطبع شد ۷ ماہ میر الٰہی سنہ ۴۵

8 علی مرتضی

مرقوم شد
۷ ماہ میر الٰہی سنہ ۴۵

9 حسین کمال الدین عبدہ

نقمی شد
۷ ماہ میر الٰہی سنہ ۴۵

4 خان اعظم

6

5 الحسینی صدر چوان کمالدین بندہ

3 الدہ قلع

2

فی التاریخ ثبت شد
۱۰ ماہ میر الٰہی سنہ ۴۵

بتاریخ ۱۳ ماہ میر الٰہی سنہ ۴۵
ارقرار دادہ و نصع گردید ۱۲

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

(Translation of the second *Farmân.*)

God is Great.

The *Farmân* of Jalâluddin Muhammad Akbar Bâdshâh Gâzi.

At this time, a royal order, signifying favour, has acquired the honour of being issued, and the dignity of being published, that, **Whereas** about 300 *bigâhs* of land (measured) by the *ilâhí gaz*, together with the palm and date trees, &c., which are growing on that land, in the environs of the town of Naosâri, &c., according to the particulars of the contents (of this *Farmân*), had been formerly assigned from the *Sarkâr* of Surat, for the purpose of the assistance of livelihood of Parsi Kaikobâd, son of Mâhyâr, from the assignment of the *jâgirdâr*, according to an order which has issued [1] forth, from the commencement of the (season of) *kharíf* [2] *ku el*, so that, from year to year, spending the income thereof, in maintaining his life, he may be engaged in praying for the increase of the wealth and good fortune (of His Majesty). **It is incumbent** upon all present and future governors, and tax-gatherers and *jagirdars* and *krôriâns* of that district, that they should, according to what is written, give back in his possession, totally and entirely, the allotted part of 300 *bigâhs* in the same way as ordered above,[3] and should not diminish or refuse anything; and whatever may have been received during the past and current years from the income of 300 *bigâhs*, should be returned; and no burdens should be imposed in that matter; and trying to bestow care in the confirmation and perpetuity of that

---

[1] قضا decree, order; جریان jaryân "which issues forth (as an order)." (Steingass.)

[2] خریف autumn, autumn harvest, harvest.

[3] Lit. in the beginning, front, chief. The word Çadr used in the seals in the sense of minister is derived from this meaning. Abul Fazl in his "Âin-i-Akbari" (Bk. II., Âin 19) says of this officer: "As the circumstances of men have to be enquired into, before grants are made, and their petitions must be considered in fairness, an experienced man of correct intentions is employed for this office . . . Such an officer is called Çadr. The Qâzî and the Mir'Âdl are under his orders. He is assisted in his important duties by a clerk, who has to look after the financial business, and is nowadays styled Diwan-i-Saâdat . . . . . and afterwards it was determined that the Çadr, with the concurrence of the writer of this work (*i.e.*, Abul Fazal), should either increase or decrease the grants. (Blochmann's translation, Vol. I., pp. 268-70.)

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

should make no change or alteration ; and make no deduction[1] from those lands ;[2] and on account of land tax, and imposts on manufactures and capitation taxes, the rest of the taxes, such as imposts and presents and fines and village assessments and marriage fees and Darogha's fees and tax-gatherer's fees, and five per cent. tax and two[3] per cent. tax and *kânungûi* (*i.e.*, fees of the officer acquainted with land tenures) and burdens (*i.e.*, taxes) for cultivation and gardening and *zakât* of duties on manufactures and assessments, no molestation should be given him every year, after (*i.e.*, beyond) the ascertainment of the grant and all civil taxes and all royal revenues; and excusing, freeing[4] and absolving him in every way[5] and of all charges, they should not go round him and should not ask every year for renewed *farmâns* and *parvânchahs* in this matter; and when (it, *i.e.*, the *farmân*, is once) adorned[6] and illustrated[7] with the royal signet of the respect[8] of His Most Glorious[9] Majesty, they must show their confidence in it.

Written on the date[10] second (day) of mâh Mêhêr *ilâhi* year 48.

Postscript[11] explanation (or details) of the *waqiah* (*i.e.* record). On the second day Bahman of the month Meher *ilâhi* year 48, corresponding to Thursday, according to the writing of *Jumlatul-*

---

[1] وضع subtraction, deduction, abatement.

[2] اراضي (pl. of ارضی) lands, estates.

[3] Sad-dui. *Vide* above, p. 101, n. 1.

[4] مسلم musallam "free, dispensed, exempted from all public burdens."

[5] من کل الوجوه or من کلی وجوه *min kulli wajuh* "in every shape, entirely, every way."

[6] مزین muzaiyan, "adorned ; signed and sealed by the Shâh."

[7] مجلي *mujallâ*, illustrated, manifested. This sentence may also refer to the person. [8] وقع respect, regard. This word is not found in the first farmân. If read وقیع sharpened.

[9] اجل "more excellent, more or most glorious."

[10] التاریخ, or if you read it as الاني alâni, "belonging to the present time," *i.e.*, now. The figure after this word is ۲ two. But as there is a slight faint ink blot near it, the man cleaning the photo-litho stone took it to be a nought, and having inked it has made it look like ۲۰ twenty. That the date is second appears from the next but one line and other subsequent dates. This date corresponds to *roz* 2 *mah* 7 year 972 Yazdazardi A.D. 1603.

[11] حاشیہ a marginal note, postscript.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

mûlki [1] *madarul-mahammi* [2] *nizamulrasâ* [3] Âsafkhan [4], and in the *chauki of bakhshi-almulki*, the favoured of His Majesty Khwajagi Fathullah [5] (and during) the turn [6] of the *wâqiah-nawis*, the humblest of slaves, Muhammad Shafîa.

The order of the universally-obeyed,[7] lustre[8] of the sun (*i. e.*, the king) has been issued that, Whereas about 300 *bigahs* of land (measured) by the *iláhi gaz*, together with the palm and date trees, &c., which are growing on that land in the town of Naôsâri, &c., had been formerly assigned, from the Sarkâr of Surat, for the purpose of the assistance of livelihood of Parsi Kaîkôbâd, son of Mâhyâr, from the assignment of the Jagirdâr, according to an order which has issued forth, from the commencement of the (season of) *kharif ku el*, so that, from year to year, spending the income thereof, in maintaining his life, he may be engaged in pray-

---

[1] جملت الملک *Jumlat-ul-mulk* was a title. It was bestowed upon the *Vakîl* of the Empire. It was bestowed by Akbar upon Muzaffar Khân-i-Turbati (Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 349.) Badâôni says :—

"In this year (the 17th of his reign) the Emperor recalled Muzuffar Khan, who had been appointed governor of Sârangpûr, and appointed him prime minister and gave him in addition to his other titles that of Jumlat-ul-mulk. (Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., p. 174.)

[2] مدارال مهام lit. the centre of important affairs, *i.e.*, a minister.

[3] نظام الرسا clever administrator. رسا skilful, quick of apprehension (?). Perhaps for *nizâm al rayîsat*.

[4] *Vide* below, p. 128, for this personage.

[5] خواجگي فتح الله Khwâjagi Fathullah was one of the grandees (بزرگان جاويد دولت) enumerated by Abul Fazl in his Ain-i-Akbari (Bk. II., Âin 30.). He was one of the سيصد و پنجاهي *i.e.*, the commanders of Three hundred and fifty (Blochmann's text I, p. 229, column 1, l. 11, grandee No. 285, Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I., p. 499). He is there described as the son of Haji Habibullah Kâshi (of Kâshân). He once served under Mirza Aziz Kokah.

[6] *Vide* above, p. 102, n. 11, for the waqiahnawis. They were fourteen in number and worked in turns. Abul Fazl says هرروزی دوکس قرار یافت و پس از چهارده روز نوبت بیکي رسید

"Two of whom do daily duty in rotation, so that the turn of each comes after a fortnight." (Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 192, l. 22. Translation, Vol. I., p. 258). So here the particular writer, who had his turn to record the document, gives his own name.

[7] جهان مطاع Jahân mutâ, obeyed by the world.

[8] شعاع a *shu'â'*, light, splendour.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ing for (His Majesty's) daily-increasing[1] fortune, (It is enjoined) to all present and future governors and tax-gatherers and *Jagirdârs* and *kroris* of that district that ascertaining (the fact) according to what is written, they should, give back in his possession, 300 *bighâs*, in the same way as declared in the most noble order, and whatever may have been received during the past year and during the current year should be returned. The writing of the postscript is in the hand of the *waqiâh-nawis* according to the record.

The 300 *bighâs* are fixed according to the former royal Farmân in this way :—

Village Tavrî in the *parganah* of Talârî.	In the environs of the town of Naôsâri, where the abovementioned land was (allotted) ere this for the purpose of the assistance of livelihood of Mâhyâr.
100 *bighâs.*	200½ *bighâs.*
	With *sah.*

Translation of the Persian lines on the first fold, and of the marginal lines, and of other lines under the seals which give dates.

(The three lines in the first fold on the side containing the seals.)

In the record of *umdatu'l-mulki,*[2] *rukn i saltanat*[3] *a'la,*[4] *itimâd-ul-daolat*[5] *alkhâkhânieh,*[6] *layak-u'l-inâm*[7] *wa al-ahsân,*[8] *jumlat-ul-mulki,*[9] *madaru'l-mahammi,*[10] *nizamu'l-raça,*[11] Açafkhân,

---

[1] روز افزون increasing daily (in glory); a royal title implying august, fortunate.

[2] عمدة الملک "pillar of the state" (a title conferred on high officials).

[3] رکن سلطنت pillar of the dominion, a nobleman.

[4] اعلیٰ most exalted.

[5] اعتماد الدولت reliance of the state.

[6] خاقانی imperial.

[7] لایق العنام worthy of prize.

[8] و ال احسان and (worthy) of beneficence.

[9] جملت الملک the sum total of the country, *vide* above, p. 123, n. 1.

[10] *Vide* p. 123, n. 2.

[11] *Ibid.* n. 3.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

and in the *chauki* of *bakhshi-almulki*,[1] *muqarrabu'l-hazrat-ul Sultáni*,[2] Khwâjagi Fathullah [3] and (during) the turn of the *waqiah-nawis* Muhammad Shafia. On the day 2nd, month Meher *iláhi* year 48 corresponding to Thursday.

(Seals Nos. 1 and 2 not legible.)

(Seal No. 3) Fathullah (other words are not clearly legible).

(Seal No. 4) Âçaf Khân.

(Seal No. 5) humblest slave Çadr-i-Jahân al Hussaini.

(Seal No. 6 not legible.)

(Date under the two seals Nos. 6 and 4 which are mixed together.) Entered on the date 14th month Meher ilâhi year 48.

(Date just below the above date written vertically.) Fixed and Sealed and signed on the date 14th month Meher ilâhi year 48. With *sah*.

(Seal No. 7.) Abdul Karim, yazdâni slave (*i. e.*, slave of God).

(The date under Seal No. 7.) Became informed on the 9th of month Meher ilâhi year 48.

(Seal No. 8.) The whole of it is not legible. The only word which is clear is Ali Murtaza علی مرتضے

(The date under Seal No. 8.) Written on 7th of month Meher ilâhi year 48.

(Seal No. 9) slave Kamâluddin Hussain.

(The date under Seal No. 9.) Written on 7th day of month Meher ilâhi year 48.

(The marginal line under Seal No. 8 written vertically.) Written in the book on the date 7th month Meher ilâhi year 48.

We will now examine the seals on the Farmân.

---

[1] Bakhshi of the State بخشی الملکی Fathullah was at one time appointed Bakhshi—*vide* below, p. 128, n. 2.

[2] مقرب الحضرت السلطانی the favourite of His Majesty the king.

[3] *Vide* above, p. 123, n. 5. This commander seems to be in charge of the *chauki* at the time when the order in connection with the farmân was given.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The king's seal is at the top of the Farmân, as in the case of the first Farmân, and as referred to by the Âin-i-Akbari. It is made up of eight circles, containing the names of Akbar and his seven ancestors. The names in these circles are not as distinct and clear as in the case of the first farmân, and unfortunately the photo-litho has not come out so well. However, placing these two farmâns side by side, one can determine the names with the help of a magnifying glass.

We will now come to the seals at the end of the Farmân. As in the case of the first Farmân, we have to turn the Farmân upside down to read the seals and the note of the *waqiah-nawis*, beginning from the first fold.

Seal No. 1. The name on it is not at all legible. But from what is said in the Âin-i-Akbari,[1] and from the fact that that statement of the Âin-i-Akbari is confirmed by the seal No. 1 of the first Farmân,[2] we can safely say, that this is the seal of Khan-i-Âzam Mirzâ Aziz Kokah, the then Vakil of king Akbar's time. We saw in the case of the first Farmân,[3] that at that time (1003 Hijri, the 40th year of Akbar's reign), he was the person "nearest in rank to the Vakil," and as such we saw his seal on the first fold on the left of that of the then Vakil, Khân Khânân. But Mirza Kokah was promoted to the Vakilship in 1004 H. He continued in that post up to the time of the death of Akbar.[4] So at the time of the second Farmân (the 48th year of Akbar's reign, *i.e.*, 1011-12 Hijri) he was Vakil of the state and so the seal No. 1 seems to be his. It is just at the place pointed out by the Âin-i-Akbari, as the place of the Vakil's seal. It says, "On the first fold, which is less broad, at a place towards the edge where the paper is cut off, the Vakil puts his seal."[5]

Seal No. 2. The writing on it is not legible. Only a letter here and there can be deciphered. I think that from a comparision with the order, observed in the first Farmân, we can infer that it may be the

---

[1] *Vide* p. 111.

[2] *Vide* p. 111.

[3] *Vide* pp. 111-112.

[4] *Vide* Abul Fazl's list of Akbar's Vakils.—Blochmann's Text I., p. 232, l. 8. Translation I., p. 527. About Mirza Kokah's career, *vide ibid* pp. 325-28.

[5] *Ibid* Text, p. 195, ll. 19-20. Translation I., p. 263.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

seal of the *Waqiah-nawis* who must be in attendance on the king, when the order of the Farmân was issued. In the case of the first Farmân, we saw,[1] that at the end of the text of the Farmân, on the very first fold, a note was put down to say, that the document was noted in the *resâlah* and *chauki* of Abul Fazl and in the record of the turn (naôbat) of *Waqiah-nawis* Muizzuddin Hussain. We also saw that the two seals on the left of the above two lines of the first fold, seemed to be those of Abul Fazl and the *Waqiah-nawis* Muizzuddin.

Now in this second Farmân, we find a similar statement about the documents being recorded in (*a*) the *resâlah*, (*b*) *chauki*, and (*c*) *naôbat*. But there is this difference that, while in the case of the first Farmân, both the *resâlah* and the *chauki* were in the charge of Abul Fazl, in the case of the second Farmân they seem to be in the charge of two separate officers, the *resâlah* in that of Âçaf Khân, and the *chauki* in that of Khwâjagi Fathullah. The naôbat (*i.e.* the record of the turn) was that of Mahomed Shafia. So in the case of the second Farmân, we must expect three seals of three diffierent officers on the left of the above-mentioned lines, in which these officers, make a note that the Farmân had been issued according to the records of their *resâlah*, *chauki* and *naôbat* respectively. Now on seals Nos. 3 and 5 we read the names of the above two officers, Âçaf Khân and Khwâjagi Fattah Alla (or Fathullah). So I think, that this illegible seal may be that of the third officer, the *Waqiah-nawis* Mahomed Shafia.

Seal No. 3. We read in it at the top the words فتح الله Fattah Allah. The words below these are not legible. This name then shows, that it is the seal of Khwâjagi Fattah Alla, who, as said in the three lines on the first fold, was in charge of the *chauki*. As referred to above,[2] and as pointed out by the 9th Âin, there are two trustworthy officers always in attendance upon the king and in charge of the royal guard at the palace. One was a Mançabdâr and another the Mir 'Arz. As Abul Fazl says, "All orders of His Majesty are made known through these two officers (the Mir 'Arz and the Commander of the Palace). They are day and night in attendance about the palace, ready for any orders His Majesty may issue."[3] Thus it

[1] p. 105.

[2] p. 104, n. 2.

[3] Blochmann's Translation, I., p. 257.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

is, that we see, that these two officers Âçaf Khân and Khwâjagi Fattah Allah, together with the *Wáqiah-nawis*, make a note upon the Farmân to say that the Farmân was issued during their time of office, and they put their seals to verify that statement.

We find the following particulars about this Khwâjagi, given by Abul Fazl in his Âin-i-Akbari, (خواجگی فتح الله No. 285).[1] He was one of the *si-sad va panjahi, i.e.*, officers in charge of 350 men (سیصد و پنجاهی). At one time he was a Bakhshi of the State.[2] In the 45th year of the reign (1008 Hijri), when Akbar besieged Âsir, he was associated with Muzaffar in besieging Fort Lalang.

Seal No. 4. We read over this seal very clearly the words Açaf Khân. As said above, he is the officer who, together with the above Khwâjagi Fattah Allah, the officer in charge of the *chauki*, and Mahomed Shafia, the *waqiah-nawis*, makes a note on the Farmân that the order was entered in his *resálah*. He is the *resálahdár* in whose term of office, the original orders for the Farmân were issued. We said above that according to the Âin-i-Akbari, an *yáddásht* or memorandum was made of the orders daily issued by the king. A Taliqah or abridgment is then prepared from the *yáddásht*. From that Taliqah the Farmâns are prepared. "The abridgment is," says the Âin-i-Akbari, "signed and sealed by the Waqiah-nawis and the Resâlahdâr, the Mir 'Arz and the Dârogah.[3]" Of the first three officers, we saw that Mahomed Shafiha was the *Wáqi'ah-nawis* in charge of the *waqiah*, Khwâjagi Fattah Alla, the *Mir' Arz* in charge of the *chauki*, and Âçaf Khân the Resâlahdâr in charge of the *resâlah*. Having made a note on the Farmân of the issue of the orders for the grant of land during their terms of office, they put their seals on the Farmân near the note.

We find the following particulars about this officer Âçaf Khân. Âçaf is a title. Akbar had bestowed this title upon three of his grandees. So, Badaoni, to avoid confusion, distinguishes the second and the third Âçaf Khân as آصف خان ثاني *i.e.*, Âçaf Khân II. and آصف خان ثلث *i.e.*, Âçaf Khân III. Abdul Majid, Âçaf Khân I., died

[1] Blochmann's text I., p. 229.

[2] Badaoni. Lowe's Translation II., pp. 323,372. So he is called Bakhshi-al-mulki in our document.

[3] Blochmann's Translation I., p. 259.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

before 981 Hijri. Khwajah Mirza Ghiasuddin Ali, Açaf Khân II. died in 989 H. So the Âçaf Khân referred to in this Farmân of 1011-12 H. was Mirza Jâfar Beg, Âçaf Khân III., who lived at the time of the Farmân. (*Vide* Badâôni Lowe II., p. 322.)

He was one of the grandees enumerated by Abul Fazl in his Âin-i-Akbari (No. 98). His name was Jafar Beg جعفر بیک He came from Qazwin in the 22nd year of the reign. He was first appointed a commander of Twenty (بیستی). After a short time he was made a commander of Two Thousand (دو هزاری) and was then given the title of Âçaf Khân. In the 44th year (1008) he was appointed *Diwan-i-Kul.*

According to Badâôni he was a known writer of Akbar's time. He also fought several battles for Akbar. He was the colaborateur with Maulânâ Ahmad in his Târîkh-i-Alfi (*i.e.* the history of 1,000 years), which Akbar, in about 990 Hijri, asked to be written for all Mahomedan nations up to the thousandth year of the Hijri era. (Elliot, Vol. V., pp. 150-53). Maulânâ Ahmad was killed by one of his personal enemies after having finished two volumes. "The remainder of the work was written by Âçaf Khân up to the year 997 H" (*Ibid* p. 153). Badâôni also had a hand in the writing of this history.

In the 38th year of the reign (1001 H.) this Açaf Khân took part with Zain Khân Koka in a fight with the Afghans of Swat and Bajaur. (Elliot V., p. 467.) According to the Akbar-nâmeh, in the 45th year of the reign, he, in company with Abul Fazl, took part in investing the fortress of Âsîr. (Elliot VI., p. 971.)

Seal No. 5. We read on this "Al Hussaini Çadr-i-Jahân *kamterin-bandeh*," *i.e.* humblest slave Çadr-i-Jahân-al Hussaini. We saw his seal on the first farmân also. As we said above, he was the last Çadr of Akbar's court. He came to office in 997 Hijri and continued in office till the end of Akbar's reign, and even for some time in Jehangir's reign. So we find his seal in both the farmâns. In this second farmân also we find his seal in the same place as that allotted to him in the Âin-i-Akbari.[1] A little below this seal and on the left we find a date. It says: "Entered on the 14th of the month Meher îlahi year 48." On the first sight, it does not appear certain, whether the date belongs to this seal of Çadr-i-Jahân, or it belongs

[1] *Vide* above, p. 113.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

to the above seal (No. 4) of Âçaf Khân, or to seal No. 6, which is illegible and which is mixed up with No. 4. But a comparison of the way, in which the date is put in here, with the way in which we find the date under Çadr-i-Jahân's seal in the first farmân, leads us to say, that this date is that of Çadr-i-Jahân's seal. There also we find it a little below Çadr-i-Jahân's seal and a little on the left. What is more striking is that in both cases there is a peculiar stroke over the dates. As Çadr-i-Jahân is the only person whose seal is common to both the farmâns, and as we find this peculiarity near his seals, we are led to believe that the date in question is the date of Çadr-i-Jahân's seal.

Seal No. 6. It is quite illegible, and it is mixed up with seal No. 4.

Between the seals No. 6 and No. 7, it is possible, there may be one or more seals of some officials, but as the portion between these two is patched up in the original old document with a piece of paper, to support the tattered condition of the old paper, we are not certain if there was or not any seal there.

Seal No. 7. We read on it the name Abdul Karim Bandah-i-Yazdâni and under it, the date 9th of the month Meher of the *ilâhi* year 48. The words are مطلع شد تاریخ ۹ ماه مهر الهی سنه ۴۸. They are written in a very mixed fashionable way. It seems that the different officers had different styles of recording the document: one said ثبت شد *sabt shûd*, another said قلمی شد *qualami shûd*, a third said مرقوم شد *marqum shûd*, and a fourth said مطلع شد *muttali shud*. All these seem to be the technical wording, special to different departments, for signifying, that the farmân had been entered into the records of their departments, or seen and passed by their departments. Now the technical wording of this seal is the same as that on seal No. 10 in the first farmân (pp. 106,116). We saw in the case of the first farmân that the seal with that wording under it, was possibly the seal of the Mustaufi. So perhaps this person Abdul Karim (or perhaps Abdul Rahim) was a Mustaufi. We cannot positively say who this person was.

Seal No. 8. The words on this seal are not clear, but we can distinctly read the words Ali Murtaza. علی مرتضی Under the seal we read مرقوم شد ۷ ماه مهر الهی سنه ۴۸ *i.e.*, written (or dated) on 7th of month Meher ilâhi, year 48. The same date is written vertically on the margin a little below the seal. The seal in the first Farmân with a similar wording

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

is seal No. 9 (pp. 106, 115). The word علي in both the seals is common. Again, in both cases their dates are repeated on the margin. So at first sight, one would be tempted to say, that it is the same person who has put down both the seals on the two Farmâns. But that is not the case. We saw in the case of the first Farmân that the seal seemed to be that of some officer connected with the preparation of the *Taliqah*. This seal therefore seems to be that of a similar officer. It may be that of the Darôgah داروغہ (superintendent of the office). We saw above, on the authority of the Âin-i-Akbari that the original *Taliqah* from which the Fârman is made is prepared, "signed and sealed by the Wâqiahnawis, and the *Resâlahdâr*, the *Mir 'Arz* and the *Darôgah*." Of these four officers, we saw that the names of the first three, who are the principal officers, are mentioned in the three lines of the first fold, and that they have also put down their seals. So perhaps this is the seal of the fourth officer, the Darôgah.

Seal No. 9. This seal is quite legible. The words on it are عبدہ حسین کمال الدین *i.e.*, servant Hussain Kamâlluddin. Under the seal we read قلمي شد ۷ ماہ مہر الہي سنہ ۴۸ *i.e.*, written the 7th of the month Meher ilâhi, year 48. This seal occupies the same place in the second Farmân as seal No. 11 in the first Farmân. Again, it is the same person who has put on the seal, though his seal is not the same. In the first Farmân, the seal reads العبد حسین کمال الدین but in the second Farmân it reads عبدہ حسین کمال الدین. The name is exactly the same, but the word expressive of humility, though the same, is a little different in its formation. It is *al abd* in the first Farmân, but *abdeh* in the second. Again the style of the date under both is exactly the same. From the technical phraseology "qalami shûd," found both in the Farmân and in the Âin-i-Akbari, and from its position in the Farmân, we determined, that the seal No. 11 in the first *farmân* seemed to be that of the Çahib-i-Taujih. On the same grounds, and because the name on both the seals is the same, we can safely say that this seal also is that the Çahib-i-Taujih.

Let us now examine the order of the dates in the second Farmân. It appears from the contents of the second Farmân that Kaikobad was not allowed to remain long in the peaceful possession of the 300 *bigahs* of land—of which 200 were those of his father and 100 of his own—given to him according to the first Farmân in 1003 Hijri. He

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

seems to have been molested. So the second Farmân, issued eight years later, mentions the fact of the previous Farmân, and enjoins that the land may be given back in his possession, and that whatever of his income from the land, in the then current year (*i.e.* the 48th year of the reign 1011-12 Hijri) and of the preceding year, he may have been consequently deprived of, should be made good to him. It further enjoins that no fresh Farmâns should be asked from him from year to year, but that the Farmân in question with the royal seal should suffice. This Farmân was dated 2nd of the 7th month Meher, in the 48th year of the reign.[1]

In the case of the first Farmân we saw, that His Majesty had issued orders for the grant on the 15th of the 7th month Meher (1003 H.). On the 13th of the next month Abân, *i.e.*, 28 days after the first issue of the order, the order was properly recorded and the *taliqah* made, and on the 10th day of the 12th month Aspandârmad, *i.e.*, about four months after the first issue of the order, a regular and *pucca* Farmân was granted to Kaikobâd. The other officers took about two months to record it in their respective departments and to put on their seals. The whole thing was complete in the second month Ardibehesht of the next year, *i.e.*, 1004 Hijri. In the case of the second Farmân, we see, that on account of the hardship caused to him by not being allowed to continue to remain in the peaceful possession of the land given by the first Farmân, there has been very little delay. The second day Bahman of the 7th month Meher is the day on which the Farmân is sealed with His Majesty's seal. On the same day, the officers who had to do with the *taliqah*, or the abridgment of the memorandum of His Majesty's orders, sign it. The Çadr-i-Jahân signs it, and within 12 days all the other officers sign and seal it.

[1] Kaikobad is said to have got subsequently from king Jehangir another *farmân* for these 300 *bigâhs* of land, all in his own name.

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF INDIA

Document No. 3.
(The third document, called the *Parwanchah*, of the 48th year of King Akbar's reign—*vide* above p. 41.)

الله اکبر

حکم خان خانان مرزا خان بهادر سپه سالار

منصدیان مهمات و معاملات سرکار سورت و قصبه نوساری و پرگنه تلاری بدانند که چون حکم جهان مطاع عالم مطیع درباب وظیفه داران صوبه گجرات صادر شده بود که

ازانچه مدد معاش داشته باشند نصفی بدهند موازی سه صد بیگهه زمین که موافق فرمان عالیشان سابق در وجه مدد معاش کیقباد فارسی از قصبه مذکور و موضع توری من اعمال

پرگنه تلاری مقرر بود یکصد و پنجاه بیگهه زمین بمشارالیه داده شده بود درین ولا که مومی الیه فرمان عالیشان مجدد آورد که اراضی مدد معاش کیقباد که سه صد بیگهه است

تمام و کمال مع اشجار خرما از محل قدیم بدهند امر عالی شد که موازی سه صد بیگهه زمین از مقبوضه قدیم مع اشجار بموجب تفصیل ضمن در وجه مدد معاش او مقرر باشد باز که اراضی مذبور را

بمومی الیه وا گذارند که حاصلات آن را متصرف میشده باشد و بدعای دولت ابد پیوند بندگان حضرت مشغول باشد و بعلت مال وجهات وسایر جهات

وکل تکالیف دیوانی چیزی از و مطالبه ننمایند و بهیچوجه من الوجوه مزاحم و معارة حوالة او نشونه و حسب الامر العالی عمل نموده از فرموده در نگذرند

تحریراً اول اسفندارمد ماه الهی سنه ۴۸ مطابق ۲۱ شهر رمضان المبارک ۱۰۱۲

مقرر ضمن تعلیقه از قرار بتاریخ روز باد ۲۲ بهمن ماه الهی سنه ۴۸ مطابق ۱۰ شهر رمضان المبارک ۱۰۱۲ بهمر وکالت پناهی شجاعت شعاری میرزا حسن علی بیگ

و صدارت دستگاهی میرزا عبدالملک دیوان و عمده دولت خواهان خواجه محمد معصوم میربخشی آنکه نواب کامکاری مملکت مداری امر فرمودند که چون بموجب حکم جهان مطاع که

ارباب وظایف صوبه گجرات در وجه مدد معاش داشته باشد نصفی بدهند موازی سه صد بیگهه زمین که موافق فرمان عالیشان سابق در وجه مدد معاش کیقباد فارسی از قصبه نوساری و موضع آن توری

مقرر بود یکصد و پنجاه بیگهه زمین بمشارالیه عنایت شده بود درین ولا که مومی الیه فرمان عالیشان مجدد آورد که اراضی مدد معاش کیقباد که سه صد بیگهه زمین است

بتمام و کمال مع اشجار خرما از محل قدیم باو وا گذارند حکم عالی شد که موازی سه صد بیگهه از مقبوضه قدیم معه اشجار خرما در وجه مدد معاش

او مقرر باشد باید که دیوانیان سرکار خاصه سنه‌ی در زمان بمومی الیه بدهند پروانگی فضایل مآب صدارت دستگاهی مولانا عبدالعزیز و شرح حاشیه بخط محضرت پناهی

میرزا عبدالملک دیوان آنکه حسب الامر العالی موافق فرمان عالیشان از مقبوضه قدیم پروانچه قلمی تمام بنمایند

قصبه ــــــــــــــــــــ قوره ــــــــــــــــــــ ت

نوساری که زمین مذکور قبل ازاین در وجه مدد معاش ما بیگهه

توری از پرگنه تلاری

ما بیگهه

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

(Translation of the parwânchah, the third document relating to the grant of land in virtue of the two Farmâns.)

God is Great!

The order of Khân Khânân[1] Mirza Khân, Bâhâdur,[2] the Sapâh-sâlâr (*i.e.*, the Commander-in-Chief).

Let the Government officers[3] of the affairs and business of the *sarkâr* of Surat and *kasbeh* of Naosari and *paraganah*[4] of Talâri know, that Whereas an order (of His Majesty), obeyed by the world and submitted to by all people, in the matter of the *wazifah-dârâns* (*i.e.*, the holders of wazifahs) of the Subah of Guzrat, had been issued, to the effect, that of whatever may have been possessed as *madad-i-maâsh*, half may be given; (and Whereas) out of about 300 *bigâhs* of land, which, according to the previous Farmân of His Majesty, have been assigned from the abovesaid *kasbeh* and from the village[5] of Tavri from the tract[6] of the *paraganah* of Talâri for the purpose of the assistance of the livelihood of Parsee Kaikobâd, 150 bigâhs of land have been given to the above-mentioned person;[7] (and Whereas) at this time, when the above-named person[7] brings a fresh *Farmân* from His Majesty, that the lands for

---

[1] *Vide* above, p. 111 . . . . . We find him placing his seal on the first Farmân with the name Khân Khânân. His full name was Khân Khanân Mirza Abdurrahim, and as Blochmann says, "Historians generally call him Mîrzâ Khân Khânân." (Âin-i-Akbari Translation I., p. 335.) Badaoni called him Mirza Khan before he was given the title of Khan Khanan. He says:

میرزا خانرا خطاب خان خانانی..... و منصب پنجهزاری..... بخشید

"To Mirzâ Khân was given the title of Khân Khânân . . . . . and the rank of a commander of 5,000." (Badaoni, Lees and Ahmed Ali's text, Vol. II., p. 336, ll. 10-12. Lowe's translation, Vol. II., p. 346.) He is called Sapah-Salâr because he was the commander of the army. According to Blochmann he was called *Khân Khânân or Khân Khânân o Sipah-Sâlâr*. (Âin-i-Akbari, I., p. 240.)

[2] So called on account of his victories. With an army of 10,000 troopers he had defeated Sultan Muzaffar of Gujrat at the head of 40,000 troopers (Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari. Translation I., p. 334.) This bravery gained him the title of Khân Khânân. Again he showed great bravery in the fight with Suhail Khan (*ibid* p. 335).

[3] متصدی *muttasaddi*, any inferior officer of Government, clerk, accountant.

[4] For the terms *sarkâr*, *kasbeh* and *paraganah*, *vide* above, p. 105 n. 4.

[5] موضع a village, hamlet, place. [6] اعمال pl. of عمل rule, a tract, country.

[7] *mushâr ilaihi* and الیہ مومی *mûmi ilaihi* the above named (person).

the *madad-i-maâsh* of Kaikobâd, which are 300 *bigâhs*, should be given him, whole and complete, together with date trees, from his old place. The exhalted order is issued that about 300 *bigâhs* of land of his old possession,[1] together with trees according to the particulars of the contents, should be assigned for his *madad-i-maâsh*. And also that the above-named lands should be given over to the above-named person, so that he may be possessed[2] of its income, and joined with the servants of His Majesty, may be engaged in praying for his perpetual good fortune. And on account of land tax, and imposts on manufactures and the rest of the taxes and all civil taxes, nothing should be demanded of him. And in no way[3] whatsoever should there be any obstacles[4] and delay[5] in his assignment.[6] And acting according to the order of His Majesty, they should not turn back from orders.[7] Written on the 1st of the month Asfandârmaz, Ilâhi year 48, corresponding to the 21st of the month Ramzân-al-mubarak, 1012.

The contents of the *Ta'liqah* (are) fixed[8] from the *qarâr*,[9] on the date of the 22nd day Bâd (*i.e.*, Guâd) of the month Bahman ilâhi year 48, corresponding to the 10th of the month Ramzân-al-mubârak, 1012, with the seal of Mirza Hasan Alibeg,[10] who is the protector of administration,[11] and who is intrepid,[12] and Mirza Abdul Mulk Diwân

---

[1] مقبوض *maqbûz*, seized, possessed, held. [2] متصرف possessed.

[3] Wajh min wajuh. Lit. in any way out of the ways. Or it may mean 'no tax out of the other taxes (*wujuh*) should cause delay in the assignment. *Vide* p. 98, n. 2. for *wajuhat*.

[4] مزاحم *muzâhim*, obstacle, impediment.

[5] معارة *muârrat* 'delaying.' If we read the word معاراة *mumârrat* the meaning would be "contention, opposition."

[6] حوالة *hawâlat*, *hawala*, transfer, assignment.

[7] *Farmudah*, ordered.

[8] *Muqarar*, fixed, settled.

[9] *qarâr-nâmahs* are, according to Blochmann, papers, that "specify the revenue collections."

[10] This officer seems to be Mirzâ Ali Beg Akbarshâhi referred to by Blochman (Ain-i-Akbari Translation I. p. 482).

[11] The word is not clear. It seems to be vakulat.

[12] شجاعت شعار intrepid.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

who is the helper of premiership[1] and Khwajah Mahmad Maçum Mir Bakhshi, the pillar[2] of the well-wishers. The powerful Nawab, who is the centre of sovereignty, has ordered that (Whereas) according to the world obeyed order (of His Majesty) that of whatsoever the owners of the Wazifahs of the Subah of Gujrat may have possessed as madad-i-maâsh, half may be given (And Whereas) of about 300 bigâhs of land, which, according to the previous Farmân of His Majesty, has been assigned from the *kasbah* of Naosari and its village Tavri, for the *madad-i-maâsh* of Parsi Kaikâbâd, 150 bighâs of land, had been given to the abovesaid person (And Whereas) at this time, the abovesaid person brings a fresh Farmân, that the lands of the *madad-i-maâsh* of Kaikobâd, which are 300 bigâhs of land, should be given him entirely and completely, together with date trees, from his old place. The exalted order has been (issued) that about 300 bigâhs of his old possession, together with date trees, should be assigned for his madad-i-maâsh. It is necessary that the officers of the *Sarkár* should instantly give to the abovenamed person a special grant.

Parvângi (*i.e.*, permission) of Maulana Abdul Aziz, who is the receptacle[3] of excellencies, the strength of premiership[4] and the marginal *sharh* in the hand of Mirza Abdul Mulk Diwân, the protection of the royal court.[5] According to the exalted order, and in conformity with the Farmân of His Majesty, the *parwanchah* of the old possession may be put into writing completely.

Village Tavri in the paragnâh Talâri.	The town of Naôsâri, where the abovementioned land was, ere this, for the purpose of the assistance of the livelihood of Mâhyâr.
100 bigâhs.	200 bigâhs.

[1] *Sadárat* premiership.

[2] عمدہ pillar.

[3] صاب If you read باب door.

[4] صدارۃ The office of Grand Vazir or prime minister.

[5] حضرت پناہ *maḥzarat panah*. حضر royal court.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The text and the Translation of the lines on the margin.

(Lines written at the commencement in an inverted position. *Vide* photo-litho *fac-simile*. A line under these is not clearly intelligible.)

الله اکبر

بمضمون پروانچه عمل نموده هرجا که فرمان عالیشان مجدد باشد بپروانچه معطل ندارند بصبح

i.e., Acting upon the contents of the *Parwânchah* wherever His Majesty's order has been renewed, the Parwânchah may not be neglected.[1] (The abovementioned lines are under the following seal.)

A little under the seal we have the words تحریر کرده شد *i.e.*, written.

(The line on the margin of the other side of the *Parwânchah*.)

بموجب تعلیقه حکم پروانچه عالي قلمي شد

i.e. according to the Taliqah, the order of the exalted *Parwânchah* has been written.

This document is a Parwânchah. About this kind of document Abul Fazl says:—

گاه فرمان بعنوان طغرا بنویسند و دوسطر نخستین کوتاه نگردانند آنرا پروانچه بر گویند

"Farmâns are sometimes written in *Tughrâ* character; but the two first lines are not made short. Such a Farmân is called a *Parwânchah*." (Bk. Âin 11, II., Blochmann's Text I., p. 195, ll. 7-8. Translation I., p. 263.)

We find, that as said above, in the two Farmâns, the two first lines are short, but in the *Parwânchah* in question they are not so.

Again the Parwânchahs are not signed by His Majesty. Abul Fazl says: "His Majesty, from motives of kindness, and from a desire to avoid delay, has ordered that these Parwânchahs need not be laid before him.[2]"

[1] معطل *mu'aṭṭal* abandoned, neglected.

[2] Blochmann's Translation I., p. 236.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Now let us examine the seals on the *Parwânchâh*. We find the seal of Khân Khânân in the front page below the marginal note. We read on it مرید اکبرشاہ خان خانان Murid-i-Akbar-Shâh-Khân Khânân. The wording on this seal is the same, as that on Khân Khânân's seal on the first Farmân, though the seal is a little different.

The Khân Khânân issued this *Parwânchah* as the senior officer, under whose seal as the Vakil, the first Farmân was granted.

As in the case of the Farmân, the *Parwânchah* also has its first fold less broad, and at a place towards the edge the paper is cut off, as referred to in the 12th Âin. It has ten seals, including that of Khan Khânân, referred to above.

The first seal on the right in the first fold has the words معصود علي حسن العبد This seems to be the seal of the officer Mirza Hasan Ali Beg referred to in the document.

The second seal on the first fold, a little on the left of the first seal has the words معصوم . . . . خان خانان legible on it. The word in the middle looks like مرید. It would then mean Mâ'acum the disciple of Khân Khânân.

The third seal on the first fold, a little on the left and a little above the second seal, has a few letters here and there legible, but the whole seal is not legible.

The next six seals are not legible. In the matter of dates, this *Parwânchah* differs from the Farmân in this, that though in the body of the *Parwânchah*, the ilâhi era is mentioned, in the four dates attached to the seals of the officers the dates are Mahomedan. In three cases it is the 22nd of the Ramzân رمضان of 1012 Hijri, and in the fourth case it is the 23rd of the same month.

We saw in the case of the second Farmân that it was granted in the 7th month Meher of the 48th year of the reign. It appears that even after that, the difficulties of Kaikobâd were not over. The king had issued a general order that the grant of Madad-i-maâsh may generally be halved. So out of his 300 *bigâhs* of land, only 150 were left to him and the other 150 were taken away. This Parwânchah then ordered that, in his case the whole of the land without any reduction may be given to him at once. The *Taliqah* in this matter was made on the 22nd day of the 11th month Bahman, and the final Parwânchah granted nine days later on, *i.e.*, the 1st of the 12th month Asfandârmaz.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Document No. 4. The fourth document (محضر મહેજર) *which speaks of the* 200 *bigahs given by King Akbar to Dastur Meherji Rana* (*vide above p.* 42).

الله اكبر

نواب نامداری[1] صادق محمد خان

غرض ازین نوشتہ آنکہ بتاریخ بیست و ششم ماہ ربیع الثانی سنہ ۱۰۰۵ در عمل...بحضور شرع[2] شریف شق نوساری و خواجہ میرزا جان شقدار[3] قصبہ مذکور مسمی کیقباد ولد مہریار پارسی فرمان عالیشان آورد کہ موازی دویست بیگہہ زمین معہ درختان و تار و خرمان وغیرہ کہ دران زمین واقع است از سواد قصبہ مذکور قبل ازین دو وجہ مدد معاش مہریار کہ مقبوضہ قدیم است تسلیم نمایند بنابرین بجہت تحقیق مقبوضہ سابق خواجہ مشارالیہ و جماعت مسلمانان و کارکن و کماشتہ امین و شماری و رعایان و مقدمان قصبہ مذکور بر مقبوضہ سابق عزیمت فرمودند و تمام مقبوضہ بہ تفصیل ذیل تحقیق نمودہ و پیمودہ مشخص نمودہ اند بدین تفصیل

(Here follow a number of lines giving a detail of measurements. Then we have the following lines on the right margin, making several statements. The first line on the right margin is as follows):—

ثبت ہذا المسطور باخبار المخبرین عنہ خادم الشرع شریف کثیر تمیناوتم

(The next marginal statement is also on the right, under the above one. It runs as follows :—)

بحضور شرع شریف قصبہ نوساری معاملہ مدد معاش کیقباد مہریار بموجب فرمان و پروانچہ قدیم[4].....محمد صدیق[5] .....

---

[1] The word is without *nuktahs*. It can also be read پایداری

[2] The last two letters are torn off in the original.

[3] "*Shiq-dar* a governor ; an officer appointed to collect the revenue from a certain division of land."—Steingass.

[4] I cannot make out exactly what this word is, but it seems to be نواب nawâb, which we find in the full name in the beginning.

[5] I cannot make out what follows.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

(On the right of the foregoing lines, we find the following statement in Gujrati :—)

૩ને ૨૬ [1]રબી-લાખર સન ૧૦૦૫ ૨. ૧૬૫૩.

[2]ફકતર અમીન બુ. ફરમાન પાતશા...[3] જલાલદી અકબર શાહ . . વજે વજીફે . .[3] કેકબાજ મહીર પારસી ને બુ. મિહજર દિલાઆ હજરતી કાજી તા. મીરજાં જહાન દીધેા. તેજપાલ વા ગુમશતે

પારસીની ને દેલાઆ મેહેજર ભરા ૨૦૦)

બાદિ ૧૧૯૫. વી ૮૦૫૩ દરખતાન

(Then we have the following lines above the Gujrati lines) :—

چون در[4] سال گزشتم زمین خود کاشتم معه درختان خرما که آب کیکه دیساهي پرکنه پارچول بسته تمامي فرق شده هیچ از و حاصل نمي شد

(Then follow a few lines of measurement, after which we have the following lines of what is called گواهي *gawâhi* or evidence about the 200 *bigahs* granted to Dastur Meherji Rana.

که این مقبوضه تمام بشرح صدر در وجه مدد معاش مهریار مذکور قبل ازین تعین بود چرکه را بر صحت این حال و صدق این مقال اگاه و روشن باشد گواهي خویش در ذیل این محضر ثبت فرمایند تا موجب اعتقاد و سامان گردد

(Here follow a number of signatures. Owing to the peculiar way in which the Mahomedan signatures are made, their decipherment is a little difficult. It is possible others may decipher and interpret them in another way.)

مشاهد[5] بما قبل عبدالکریم نورمحمد بخطی[6] الواحد من الحاضرین

نا ببوین کبریا

الواحد من الحاضرین خو محمد عبدالرزاق بخط[6]

الواحد الله من الحاضرین فقیر نعمت الله جمیل الله

شاهد[5] بما قبل تاج الدین بن لطف الله

---

[1] This is the date given in the commencement of the document. There the month is called "rabi'u-l sâni," *i.e.*, the second Rabi. Here it is called "rabi'u-l-âkhar, *i.e.*, the last rabi.

[2] Some letters which are unintelligible. The word બુ. in the first line is an abreviation of بلند *i.e.* the great (*farman*).

[3] Not legible. Perhaps મી.

[4] سا Miswritten for سال

[5] *i.e.*, witness to what precedes.

[6] *i.e.*, written by my own hand.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

અનંત નાનાભાઈ શાખ
નાહાંના[1] ચંગા શાખ
૧ રાહેરીઆર નાગોજ શાખ
૧ બેહરામ ફરેદુન શાખ
૧ રાંણુંજી આ. બમંન[2] શાખ
૧ દાજી ધઈઆં શાખ
૧ કુકા[3] ? માણુક શાખ
૧ મેહરા શોઈ શાદી
૧ કેસવ કઉ શાખ
૧ મહીઆં માંહીઆં શાખ (?)
૧ નાના જદવ શાહદી
૧ ગોવંદ[4] નરાંણુ શાહદી
૧ ધના હીરા શાખ

(Translation of the above fourth document.)

GOD IS GREAT.

Nawâb Nâmdâri Çâdiq Muhammad Khân.[5]

The object of this writing is this, that Whereas on the date 26th of *mâh* Rabi-ul-sâni year 1005 in the rule of . . . .[6]

[1] Reading doubtful.

[2] Or perhaps આબદીન.

[3] Reading doubtful. This and the succeeding two names seem to be Hindu.

[4] The modern proper form would be ગોવીંદ નારણ. Govind Nâran. The last word શાહદી means witness شاهد

[5] *Vide* below, p. 145 for particulars about this personage.

[6] It is said that in old writings of this kind, sometimes, when the subordinate officers had to mention the names of kings or princes, they, out of respect for the king or prince, kept the place for the name blank, leaving the readers to supply it. Sometimes the name was written on the margin. It seems that here, after the word عمل or rule, some space is left blank with a similar purpose. The *amal* or rule referred to here may be either that of the king himself as the ruler of the whole country or that of Prince Sultan Murâd as the ruler of the province of Gujrât.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

in the presence of Shar-i-Sharif[1] of the division[2] of Naosari and of Khwâjah Mirjzâ Jân, the *shiqdâr*[3] of the said town, a person named Kaikobâd, son of Meheryâr, a Parsee, brought the *farman* of His Majesty, that about 200 bigahs of land—from the environs of the abovenamed town, together with palm and date trees, which are growing on that land—which were ere this, in the previous possession of Meheryâr for the purpose of his *madad-i-maásh*, be given to him, therefore for the purpose of ascertaining that old possession, the abovesaid Khwâjah, and an assembly of Mahomedans and *karkuns* and superintendents *(gumastahs)* of the Amin[4] and *shumâri*[5] and non-Mahomedan subjects[6] and leaders[7] of the said *kasbah*, resolved (to meet) on the old possession and having examined as detailed below,[8] and, having measured, ascertained the whole possession according to these details.

(Translation of the first line on the right margin, p. 139.)

This[9] description (is) written according to the information of informers[10] (brought) before[11] me (*lit.* servant) in the Court of Justice much[12] (. . . .)

---

[1] شرع شريف Shar'-i-Sharif "citing one before a Court of Justice." The Qâzi seems to be referred to under this title. That the Qâzi of a place had something to do with the jagirs appears from the following passage in the 19th Âin. (Bk. II.):—

"Again, when His Majesty discovered that the Qâzis were in the habit of taking bribes from the grant-holders, he resolved, with the veiw of obtaining God's favour, to place no further reliance on these men (the Qâzis)." Blochmann's Translation I., p. 269.

[2] شق Shiqq "a large division of a country forming a collectorate."

[3] *Vide* above, p. 139, n. 3.

[4] امين an officer employed to collect the revenues.

[5] شماري counting, gumâshteh-i-shumâri, *i.e.*, officers making calculations.

[6] رعايان subjects, especially non-Mahomedan of a Mahomedan ruler.

[7] مقدم muqaddam leader. મુકદમ

[8] ذيل appendix, postscript.

[9] اِذا this. [10] مخبر *mukhbir*, informer, teller of news. [11] عند near, before, according to.

[12] The last two words are not intelligible.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

(Under this first line on the right margin, we have a seal on the right. It reads):—

حضرت سبحان خادم الشرع فضل الله بن[1] دوسي عبادی

i.e., Fazlallah, son of.....,[1] servant of glorious God.[2]

(Translation of the second line on the right margin beginning with بحضور p. 139.)

In the presence of Shar'-i-Sharif (*i.e.*, Court of Justice or the Qâzi presiding there) of the town of Naosari, in the affair of the madad-i-maâsh of Kaikobâd Maheryâr according to the old *farman* and *parwanchah* . . . .[3] Muhammad Çâdiq . . . .[4]

(Over these lines, a little on the left there is a seal. It reads:—)

عبده میرزا جان ابن خواجه خان

i.e., servant Mirzâ *Ján*,[5] the son of Khwâjah Khân.

(Translation of the statement above the Gujrati lines, p. 140.)

As in the past year, his cultivated land with date trees,—the water of Kikâ Desâi (?) of the *paragnah* of Parchol, being shut up—was all drowned, no income was obtained out of it.

(Translation of the last statement about the *yawâhi*)

The whole of this possession was, ere this, fixed in the above *Sharh*,[6] for the purpose of the *madad-maâsh* of the abovesaid Meheryâr.[7] Those who are aware and informed of the correctness of this state of affair, and of the truth of this statement may write their signatures (lit. evidence) below this document, so that it may be the cause of confidence and arrangement.

(Under this form, about 17 persons put their signatures to certify that the land of Meheryâr, was examined and settled by them. Among the signatories we find members of all communities, Mahomedans, Hindus, and Parsees.

---

[1] This name is not quite legible.

[2] The person referred to here seems to be the Qâzi or the *Shari-i-Sharif* referred to in the body of the document.

[3] This word is not quite intelligible.

[4] The rest of the writing is not intelligible to me.

[5] The Gujarati lines also give this name.

[6] The *Sharh* or description, as given above.

[7] In this document, we find the name Mâhyâr as Meheryâr, which is the proper form under which the name has come down to us as Meherji.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

As one should expect in a Mahomedan Government, the first signatories are Mahomedans, and they sign in Persian characters. It is difficult to give correctly the names of all the signatories of this document. But I will give them as far as can be deciphered.

The Mahomedan signatures are as follow :—

1. Abdul Karim Nur Muhammad.
2. Mohammad Abdul Razâk.
3. Fakir Naâmat Allah Jamil Allah.

(Most of the signatories begin their signature with the word الواحد *i.e.*, the one, *i.e.*, the God. They also add the words من ال حاضرين *i.e.*, "From the persons present." They mean to say that they were present when the measurements, etc., were made.)

4. Tajuddin bin Latfullah.

(Then follow Hindu and Parsee signatures. Most of them add the words સાખ્ય or સાહેદી *i.e.*, witness after their names.)

5. Anant Nânâbhâi. (This is a Hindu name.)
6. Nâhnâ Changâ ?
7. Shaheryâr Nâgoj (Parsee).
8. Beharâm Faredun (Parsee).
9. Rânji Bahman (Parsee).
10. Dâji Dhayân (Parsee).
11. Kuka Mânak.[1]
12. Mesh Shôî.[1]
13. Kesav Kau.[1]
14. Mâhiâ Mâhiân (Parsee).
15. Nânâ Jâdav.
16. Govand Narân (Hindu).
17. Dhanâ Hira (Parsee!).

We will now examine the contents of this document : —Firstly as to the person Çâdik Muhammed Khân, who issued the order, we find the following particulars about him :—

[1] Reading doubtful.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

صادق محمد خان Çâdiq Muhammad Khân was one of the great Amirs and commanders of Akbar. He was one of the grandees (No. 43) named by Abul Fazl in his Âîn-i-Akbari (Bk. II., Âin 30). Abul Fazl there calls him simply صادق خان Çâdiq Khân.[1] Blochmann says, "Akbar disliked the names Muhammad and Ahmad; hence we find that Abul Fazl leaves them out in this list."[2] "Other Historians call him Câdiq Muhammad Khân. . . . . He was one of the best officers Akbar had."[3] We read in Badâôni.[4]

از رسیدن این خبر فرمان بشاهزاده سلطان مراد بهالوه رفت تا بدارائي گجرات منصوب گردد و محمد صادق خان را بجاي اسمعیل قلي خان بوکالت او نامزد گردانیده از درگاه رخصت دادند و سرکار سورت و بهروچ از تغیر قلیچ خان در وجه جایگیر او [5] مقرر شد

Translation.—"On the arrival of the news,[6] a *farmân* was sent to the Prince Sultân Murâd that he should become governor of Guzrât, and the Emperor having appointed Muhammad Çâdiq Khân in the place of Ismâîl Quli Khân as his *wakil*, allowed him to leave the Court. And the province of Surat and Baronch (Broach), on account of the removal of Qulij Khân, was fixed as his *jâgîr*."[7]

This event is described under the events of 1001 Hijri. We thus see that Câdiq Muhammad Khân was appointed under Prince Murad at the head of the Sarkâr of Surat in 1001 H. He continued to serve in this office till he died in 1005.[8] So he appears to have issued this order a few days before his death.

---

[1] Blochmann's text I., p. 223, Translation I., p. 355.

[2] *Ibid.*, Translation I., p. 355, n. 1.

[3] *Ibid*, pp. 355 and 357.

[4] Ahmed Ali's text, Vol. II., p. 387, ll. 17-21.

[5] Compare the words وجه جاگیر مقرر شد used here with similar words issued in the two *farmâns* and the *parwânchah*. These words, which Blochmann translates by "was fixed as his *jagir*," seem to be the technical words for similar *farmâns*.

[6] *Viz.*, that Khân-i-Azam Mirza Kokah (Mirza Kokah, one of the signatories on the 1st Farmân, *vide* above, p. 111), who was the Governor of Gujrat, had suddenly left his post and gone to make a pilgrimage to Mecca.

[7] Lowe's Translation II., p. 401.

[8] Blochmann's Âin-i-Akbari I., p. 357.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

He is called nâmdâr, but if we read the word پایدار pâîdâr (*i.e.*, holder of the foot), it seems to be a title or a post in the king's service. At one time he was called رکابدار *Rikabdâr*, *i.e.*, spur-holder. This was a post he held in Bairam's service.

The first three documents were the documents from the King's own Court. They were what we can call Imperial documents. The fourth document under consideration is not Imperial, but what we may call Provincial. But it is very important in this point, that it speaks more particularly, of the 200 *bigâhs*, allotted previously to Dastur Meherji Rana. It seems that on Kaikobad's going to the *Sârkar* of Surat, armed with the very farmân of His Majesty (dated 1003 Hijri) in the matter of the 200 *bigâhs* granted to his father and 100 to him personally, the Nawâb of that district issued an order that the original land granted to Meherji Rana may be ascertained and fixed on the authority of well-informed persons. It seems, that on the death of Meherji Râna, Kaikobad was not allowed to remain in peaceful occupation of the place, so he must have gone personally to the Court of Akbar and obtained the *farmân* of the Shah. This inquiry was the result of the *farmân*.

Having given the text and translation of the Persian documents—two *farmâns*, one *parwanchah*, and one *mahzar*—of King Akbar's time referring to the original grant of 200 *bigâhs* of land to Dastur Meherji Rana, and having examined their contents, we will now examine some of the Gujarati documents referred to in the paper. The documents have an important bearing on the subject-proper of the paper. But apart from that, they will be found interesting from several points of view. To the student of the Gujarati language, they present specimens of Gujarati, especially Parsee Gujarati, written about 300 years ago. Again, they throw side-lights on some religious customs of the day. In the case of the Persian documents, I have given their photo-litho facsimiles and have reproduced them in types in the same way as they are written. In the case of these Gujarati documents also, I have given their photo-litho facsimiles, but in reproducing them in types, I have changed a little the old forms of letters and have given them in a way as can be best read now by the Gujarati reader. In case of old archaic forms I have given in foot-notes their modern forms. I give the documents and their translations in the order in which they are referred to in the paper.

[1] Blochmann's Âin-i-Akbari I., p. 355.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

(*Document No.* 5. *The first agreement* (*of* 1635 *samvat*) *that refers to Dastur Meherji Rana as the head of the priests.*)

નૌસારીના મોબેદો દસ્તુર મેહેરજી રાનાને પોતા વડા ગણેછે તે બાબેનો પેહેલો લેખ).

સંમસ્ત અંજમંન નુસારીનાં જોગ લ. સંમસ્ત હેરબુદ જત ગ્રોસ ત. નવ[1]સો નવાઢે જે હેરબુદ આપસની નુખતે[2] નવાઢે તે એ. શ્રી મહેરજી રાંણાંને હજૂર પુછી નવસો દીએ ત. ગ્રોસ ઈજે તે પુછી ઈજે. પોત[3]દાર વરાંએ ગ્રોસ ત. નવસોનાં દોકડા જે આવે તે પોતદાર આલે[4] તે વરાંએ બીજું કોઈ નહી આલે[4] જે આલે[4] તે અંજમંનનુ ગુનાહગાર ગ્રોસ ઈજે ત. નવસો દીએ તે એ. શ્રી મહેરજી વાછાને પુછી દીએ. નહી પુછે તે અંજમંનનુ ગુનાહગાર. રોજ ગુઆદ માહ તીર સંવત ૧૬૩૫ વર્ષે કતબે સંમસ્ત હેરબુદ

૧[5]

૧ મોબદ ખુરસેદ (સા)
૧ ચાંદણાં કાકા (મતુ)
૧ પદમ રૂસ્તમ (મતુ)
૧ મોબદ સાએર
૧ બહેરામ જેસંગ
૧ આ. ધમધાલ[6] કામદીન
૧ બલ્લન હોશંગ

---

[1] તથા નવસો *Nav-shô*, the sacred bath given every third day in the Barashnum ceremony of nine days. Perhaps نوشو, *i.e.*, a new bath (شويذ) or from Avesta ...., *i.e.* (the ceremony of) 9 nights.

[2] વારી પ્રમાણે نوبت turn.

[3] વારીદાર. The person to whose lot the turn comes, or perhaps پوتمدار from پوتم a treasury. The man who collects all income to be afterwards divided according to shares.

[4] The word આલવું in the sense of 'to give, to bring,' is still used in Nowsari.

[5] In the signatures in the Gujarati documents, I put into brackets those words at the end of names which do not form a part of the names, but signify different meanings which the signatories wish to convey. In these signatures આ. is for આપીઆરૂ *i.e.*, priests, લ. or લા. is for લખતંગ *i.e.*, writer. This word is sometimes written in full, in various ways, such as લખ્ત or લખતમ. The word કાતેબ كاتب also 'signifies writer.' It also is variously written as કલ્ત or કાતબે or કલબે. The word શ્રી also is found appended to names. It is a Gujarati form of appellation still used among Hindus.

[6] or ધમ્માલ.

૧ નુશેરવાંન યાશદન
૧ ચાંદણાં કાંમદીન ધનપાલ
૧ અ. રાણાં પેશીતન
૧ આ. મેહેરજી ચાંદજી
૧ આ. ખુરસેદ બહેરામ ભાઈઆ
૧ આ. બહમન બહેરામ

Translation of the first agreement.

To the whole of the Anjuman of Naôsâri. Writers (are) all the Herbads (*i.e.*, priests). To wit. When they perform Sraôsh (ceremony) and give the sacred bath, the priest, who gives the bath according to his turn, shall give the bath, after asking the permission of Meherji Rana. And when he performs the Sraôsh ceremony he shall perform it after asking (him). The persons, entitled in turn, may bring the Dokdâ (*i.e.*, the share of fees), which may come to their share for the Sraôsh and sacred bath. No persons, other than these, shall take them. He who will take them will be a wrong-doer before the Anjuman. He who performs the Sraôsh and gives the sacred baths, must ask Meherji Vachcha before doing so. He, who would do that, without asking him, shall be a wrong-doer before the Anjuman. *Rôz* Guâd *mâh* Tir *Samvat* 1635[1] Written by all Herbads.

(Signed)—Mobad Khoorsed. Châṇdnâ Kâkâ. Padam Rustam. Mobad Sâhêr. Baherâm Jesang. Dhampâl (or Gharpâl) Kâmdin. Bahman Hoshang. Nushervân Yâshdain (Âsdin). Châṇdnâ Kâmdin Dhanpâl. Rana Peshitan. Meherji Chandji. Khoorshed Bahêrâm Bhâîyâ. Bahman Baherâm.

(*Document No. 6. The second agreement* (*of* 1636 *samvat*) *which refers to Dastur Meherji Rana as the head of the priests.*)

(નૌસારીનાં મોબેદો દસતુર મહેરજી રાનાને વડા ગણેછે તે બાબેનો (સંવત ૧૬૩૬ નો) બીજો લેખ)

શ્રી અંજમન નુસારીનાં જોગ્ય લા. હેરબુદ સમસ્ત જત અંગીયારીની રાસ વેહેવા તા. ઘમરણાં તા. સરોશ તા. શેઆવ તા. સંજાના તા. નવસો તથા ભગર તા. અંગીઆરી સંબધી જે કાંઈ આવે તે એ. શ્રીમહેરજી વાછાની તસ્લીમ[2] કીધું. એ. શ્રી મેહરજી વાછાની બગેર[3] રજા કંઈ અગીયારી સંબધી

[1] *i.e.*, 12th March 1579. Parsee Prakâsh, p. 8.

[2] تسليم conceding, granting. સોપવું.

[3] بغير without વગર.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ઉઆલે[1] વંણ પુછે[2] કાંમ કરે તે વરસ ૧ એક લગે ભાગથી અલગુ. એયાંન[3]ત-ચુગ[4] પકરે, તે દોકડુ ૧ લીએ તેહેનાં બમંનાં એયાંનત આપે. એ નાંમુ એ. શ્રી મહેરજી વાછાની તસલીમ કીધું. એ લખાથી ચુકે તે અંજમનનું ગુહનેગાર. એ નાંમુ એ. મહેરજીની શેહેતે રહે સહી. રોજ મેહેર મા. દેએ સંવત ૧૬૩૬ છતરીશા વર્ષે.

	૧
ધૈયાં ચાંદજી શાખ્યે	૧
	૧
	૧
	૧ બલંન ચાંદા (મતુ)
	૧ આ. પેસીતન ચાંદા (લખ્તંગ)
	૧ અ. બહેરામ જેસંગ. (લખતં)
	૧ લા. આ. પદમ રૂસ્તમ
	૧ અ. કઈકબાદ મહીઆર
	આ. ચાંદણાં કાકા (લખતંમ)
	૧ આ. ઘરપાલ કામદીન(લખતંમ)
	૧ લા. આ. શાપુર આસા
	૧ લા. આ. ચાંદણાં કામડીન ધન-પાલ (સાખ)
	૧ લા. આ. ખુરસેદ બહેરામ મ-હીઆર
	૧ નુશેરવાન યાશદૈન (લખ્તંમ)
	૧ આદર રાણા (કતબે[5])
	૧ લ. બલંન હોશંગ
	૧ આ. મોબદ સાએર (મતુ)[6]
	૧ નરસંગ રામજી[7]

[1] ઉઆલે. The latter part of the word આલે, (bring) is the same as in the previous agreement. So it may be another form of the same word or it may be some word from الجاء to recede, to depart from an agreement.

[2] વગર પુછને.

[3] ايمان fraud.

[4] Perhaps چوک a profound inclination or genuflexion before the King; humility; or چك a mistake; or perhaps read چوگ ફે The meaning seems to be dishonesty.

[5] કતબે is the same as લખતંમ. Like લ. or લખતંગ it either precedes the name or comes after it.

[6] I have put into brackets the words at the end which do not form a part of the names, but simply signify "a witness, a signatory, a writer," &c.

[7] or Rânji રાનજી.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

૧ અ. કાકા અસદીઅ (લખતમ)
૧ લા. પેસીતન જીવા (આ.)
૧ નરીમાંન હોમ (સાખ)
૧ આ. ખુરશેદ બહમન (સાખ)
૧ આ. પહીઆં બેહરામ (સાખ)
૧ આ બેહરામ ફરેદુન

Translation of the second agreement.

To the Anjuman of Naôsâri. Writers all the priests. To wit. (All the affairs of) the income of the Agiâry[1], marriage and re-marriage and Sraôsh, and Siâv[2], and Sanjâna[3], and *nav-sô*, and Bhagar,[4] and all the income in connection with the Agiâry are entrusted to Ervad Meherji Vâchchâ. He, who shall recede from the agreement,[5] or do anything in connection with the Agiâry, without the permission of Ervad Meherji Vâchchâ, and shall do any work without asking him, shall be debarred for one year from his share. He who fraudulently or dishonestly (*i.e.*, without permission) receives any fees, shall have to give two, for every Dokdâ, that he receives.[6] This agreement is given to Ervad Meherji Vâchchâ. He who breaks the terms of this writing shall be a wrong-doer before the Anjuman. This agreement shall remain with Meherji. Signed *Rôz* Meher, *mâh* Deh *Samvat* 1636[7] thirty-six Varkhê.

Dhayân Chandji (Shâkh, *i.e.*, witness) Bahman Chânda. Pesitan Chânda. Baherâm Jesang. Padam Rustam. Kaêkabad Mahiyâr. Chândnâ Kâkâ. Gharpâl Kâmdin. Shapur Asâ. Chândnâ Kâmdin

---

[1] The temple where the religious ceremonies are performed.

[2] Consecrated clothes which are presented to the priests as a part of their fees.

[3] *i.e.*, the fees of ceremonies falling to the lot of the priests, who had come to Naôsâri from Sanjân, with the sacred fire of the first great fire temple founded in India.

[4] *i.e.*, the bhâg or share of fees falling to the lot of the original priests of Naôsâri. "ભગર વાતણી" *i.e.*, to divide the Bhagar or shares is a term even now used in some places. Out of the sacred breads presented at the fire-temple by different parties for the recital of the Bâjs, the officiating priest removes one from each Bâj and all from the Sraôsh *bâj*. The collection so made is afterwards divided by the priests as a part-payment of their fees.

[5] *Vide* above, p. 149, n. 1.

[6] *i.e.*, for every pice that one receives for secretly performing any religious ceremony, without informing and taking the permission of Meherji, he shall have to pay two as fine. [7] *i.e.*, 1st September 1580.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Dhanpâl. Khoorshed Baherâm Mahiyâr. Nushervân Yâshdain. Adar Rânâ. Bahaman Hoshang. Mobad Sâêr. Narsang Ranji. Kâkâ Asdia. Pesitan Jivâ. Narimân Hôm. Khurshed Bahman. Dhaiyâ Beharâm. Beherâm Farêdun.

(*Document No. 7. An old copy of the document about the proper performance of the ceremonies, wherein Dastur Meherji Râná signs at the top*).

કીયાએા બરાબર કરવા બાબેનેા સંવત ૧૬૨૨ નેા લેખ જેમાં મેહરજી રાના વડા તરકિ પેહેલી સહી કરેછે).

સમસ્ત શ્રી અંજમન નુશારીના જોગ લખતં શમસ્ત અંધ્યારૂ તથા ગુમશત હેરબુદ જત આજ પછી જે કેાઈ અંધ્યારૂ થાઈ અગીઆરી માહાં ફતરત[1] કરે ભગર લુટી[2] ચેારી કરે બેહેદીનની ફરસ્ત આપણ શી કરી આપણ સિધી લેઈ જાએ[3] તે અનજમનનું ગુનાહાગાર અને દીવાનની બેઆનત સમારે. બીજું બાજનુ ધરનાર જેહનું વારૂ[4] હુએ તે દીશ પુહરમાં ખુબ કરી બે[5] પુરમાંહા શરવ બાજ ધરે. બાજ ધરતાં તખશીર નહીં કરે. તેહની બાજ ધરણા શમદ[6] જે લવાજમ સદા છે તે લીએ તે વરા[7]માં કાંઈ અધીક નહીં લીએ. બાજ ધરતાં ઇજારને હીદાલાને કેાઈ દારાહી[8] નહીં દીએ આપણ શી દાદ દાવર આગલ માગે. બીજું સરેાશ, સ્યાવ, વેહેવા, ધધરણાં શરવ[9]માંહ જે કેાઈ ચેારી કરે તે ભી અનજમનનું ગુનાહગાર, દીવાનની બેઆનતસમારે. બીજું ભગર વટિ તે બાજ ધરીઆ પાખી નહીં વટિ. બાજ ધરી સર્વ વટિ લીએ સહી. અક્ષ્યલ ખત વધે પ્રપાંલનાય[10] રેાજ આદરમાહ અસપંદારમદ સંવત ૧૬૨૨ વર્ષે

---

[1] فتور relaxation, remission અગેાડસાઈ, બેદરકારી.

[2] લુટ. એટલે અગીઆરીનાં કામમાં બેદરકારી કરે અને લુટ અથવા ચેારી કરે એટલે અપ્રમાણીકપણુ બાપરે. [3] પેાતાનાં હકની મરેાસની બાબતનાં દરન ઉપરાંત બેદેહીનનાં દરન પેાતાનાં કરી પેાતાસાથે લઈ જાય, તે બેઆનત (خيانت fraud) માટે જવાબદાર રહે. [4] વારેા હેાય, turn.

[5] બેપુર એટલે બપેાર. દીવાપુહર (હાવનગેહની રાત્રઆત) માં ખુબ કરી બપેાર પડતાં બાજ ધરી રહે.

[6] شمت finding the right way, course, direction, towards. [7] وار except, besides સીવાય.

[8] داراي keeper, supporter. داراني دن to cause to hold, *i.e.*, કેાઈ અપેલે નહી (doubtful); અથવા કેાઈ અડકે નહીં. કેાઈ બાજ ધરતેા હેાયતેા તેનાં ઇજારાપર જઈ તેની ફીયાને અભાવ (અપાવ) કરે નહીં, પણ તેની સામે જે કરૈાદ હેાયતેા દસતુર ઘવર આગલ જઇ ફરયાદ કરે. Compare this word with the word داراڭى used by Badaoni (*vide* above, p. 145,l. 2 of the Persian passage). The meaning seems to be no body should disturb him while performing the ceremony.

[9] સર્વ. [10] It is an old form of benediction which means that the parties should adhere to the terms of agreement.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

૧ કતબે[1] સમસ્ત હેરબુદ અંધ્યરૂ
૧ લા. મહીઆર વાછા
૧ બહમન આ. ચાંદા (કતબુ)
૧ આ. કએકબાદ મહીઆર
૧ આ. કાકા શ્રુત[2] આસદીન
૧ લા. આ. પદમ રસ્તમ
૧ રાણાં ચાચા
૧ આ. હોશંગ હોસંગ (લખત)
૧ લા. ફરદીન કાકા
૧ લા. બહમન હોસંગ
૧ લા. શાપુર આશા
૧ આ. અરમંદીઆર કાકા શાખ
૧ લખતમ રૂસ્તમ ધણપાલ
૧ લા. મોવદ મેહેરવાન
૧ આ. જેસંગ જાયા
૧ લા. આ. સાએર બહેરામ
૧ લા. પદમ રૂસ્તમ બહેરામ.
૧ લખતમ કર્ણા મણકા
૧ લા. કામદીન રાણાં
૧ લા. દોહીઆ હોમ
૧ આ. પદમ જીવા (મતુ).
૧ લા. ચાંદણાં કાકા
૧ લા. કામદીન હોસંગ
૧ રાણા નરસંગ
૧ લા. આ. પેશીતન ચાંદા.

Translation of the document about the proper performance of the ceremonies.

To the whole of the Anjuman of Naôsâri.—Writers the priests and all the Herbads. To wit. From this day forward, he, who being a priest, is relax in (his work in) the Agiâry (*i.e.*, fire-temple), or practises dishonesty and fraud in the matter of his share (*bhagar*) appropriates as his own, the *farast*[3] of the Behedin (*i.e.*, the layman) and takes them away with him, shall be a wrong-doer before the Anjuman, and shall be responsible for the loss. Again, he, whose

---

[1] એટલે લખતગ અથવા લખનાર.

[2] ઓકરો. કાકાનો ઓકરો આસદીન એટલે આસદીન કાકા Kâkâ's son Asdin.

[3] Of the draônas (*i.e.*, consecrated breads) some are called fraçast from the word (fracasti) *fracasti* (yaçna VIII-I), on reciting which, it is lifted up by the officiating priest and tasted in the ritual. (Le Zend Avesta par Darmesteter, Vol. I., Introduction LXVI). Out of these sacred breads used in the recital of " different *Bâjs* (𐬠𐬁𐬎) in honour of different *yazatas*, the priest has the right of taking to his own house, those in the Sraôsh Bâj, *i.e.*, the Bâj in honour of Sraôsha. The other sacred breads consecrated in the other Bâjs, are taken back from the fire-temple to their own houses, by the laymen, who get the ceremony performed. Here it is meant that the priest, who besides taking the sacred breads of the Sraôsh Bâj, over which he has a prescriptive right as a part of payment in kind, takes away other sacred breads also, will be considered as committing a dishonest act.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

turn it is to perform the Bâj ceremony, shall perform the Khûb[1] in the *póhar*[2] of the day and finish all the Bâjs by the second *póhar* (*i.e.*, noon). He shall commit no faults in the Bâj recitals. He shall take as his proper fee for the Bâj, the usual allowance. He shall not take anything more than that. While performing the Bâj ceremony, he shall not create a disturbance [3] on the Hindolâ (*i.e.*, the stone slab for the performance) of the Yazashné. He shall pray for justice before the Dâvar. Again, he also, who shall be dishonest in the matter of (the fees of) *Sraôsh siâv*, marriage, re-marriage and all (such ceremonies) shall be guilty before the Anjuman. He shall make amends for the loss. Again, the distribution of the shares shall not be without the performance of the Bâj. All shall be distributed after the Bâj[4]. The original agreement may ever be respected.[5]

Rôz Âdar *mah* Aspandâmad *samvat* 1622.

Writers all the Herbads, priests.

(Signed)

Mahyâr Vâchhâ.
Bahman Chânda.
Kaêkabad Mahiyâr.
Kâka's son Âsdin.
Padam Rustam.
Rana Chhâchâ.
Hoshang Hosang.
Fardin Kâkâ.
Bahman Hosang.
Shâpur Âsâ.
Aspandyâr Kâkâ.
Rustam Dhanpâl.
Morad Meherwân.
Jesang Jâyâ.
Sâer Baherâm.
Padam Rustam Baherâm.
Kaiya Mankâ.
Kâmdin Rânâ.
Dohiyâ Hôm.
Padam Jivâ.
Chândnâ Kâkâ.
Kâmdin Hosang.
Rânâ Narsang.
Peshitan Chândâ.

[1] Khub is a preparatory ceremony, which a priest must perform in order to be considered as qualified for the performance of several other ceremonies.

[2] watch of the day. The time meant seems to be the first part of the Hâvangâh.

[3] Doubtful! It may mean 'he shall not lean'. The priest who performs the Bâj ceremony has, even now, to do so sitting in a position detached from adjoining sides or things; or it may mean, he shall not go over the Hindôlâ of other priests and disturb them. If he has any grievance against others, he must properly submit them before the Dâvar, *i.e.*, the person deputed to inquire into and do justice in such cases. *Vide* p. 151, n. 8.

[4] *Vide* p. 150, n. 4. [5] *Vide* p. 151, n. 10.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Document No. 8. (આતશબેહરામમાં ક્રીયા કામ કરતા તાડી નહી પીવા બાબેનો સવત ૧૬૨૬ નાં લેખ.

The document about abstaining from toddy during one's turn to officiate at the Fire-temple.)

સમસ્ત અંજમન જોગ્ય લા. સમસ્ત હેરબુદ જત હેરબુદ સારતુ[1] થાએ તાડી નહી પીએ જે તાડી પીએ તે બરસમ હાથ નહી ધરે સારણાં[2]થી બાહેર નીકળે, બરશનુમ બાંહાંથી બાહેર કલે સહી ને નીકોઇ આતશ બુએ દીએ તે તાડી નહી પીએ. તાડી પીએ તે બરશનુમથી બાહેર નીકલે સહી. રોજ અરદબેહેશ્ત માહ અસપંદારમદ સંવત ૧૬૨૬ વર્ખે જે કોઈ બાજ ધરે તે તેતલા દહાડા આપણસી નુબતે અગીઆરીમાંથી રહે તેટલા દહાડા દરવંદ સાથે નહીં અડકે સહી

કતાબે મહીઆર વાછા	૧ કતબે ખુરશેદ બહેરામ
	૧ ક.[3] આ. હમજીઆર પદમ
૧ આ. શાપુર આસા (કાતબે)	૧ કતબે આ. નરસંગ સાબેર
	૧ બહેરામ સહીઆર (કતાબે)
આ. ધરપાલ આ. કામદીન (કતેબ)	૧ આ. કાકા સુત[4]. અસપંદીઆર (કાતેબ)
૧ આ. પેસતન જીવા (કતબે)	૧ (કતબે) પદમ રૂસ્તમ
	૧ મહેરજી માનક (કાતબે)
	૧ આ. ખુરસેદ અસદીન (કતબ)
	૧ આ. કઈ[5]આ માણક (કાતબે)
	૧ નુશેરવાન આસદીન (કાતબે)
	૧ ચાંદણાં કામદીન (કતબુ)
	૧ રૂસ્તમ સહીઆર (કતબુ)
	૧ મોવદ સાબેર (કતબુ)
	૧ કબેકબાદ મહીઆર (કતાબે)

---

[1] સારતો, ક્રીયાપ ક્રીયાપ્રમ કરતો. Av. ۱۸۳ ગ્રુ سراوَيدن to chant. ગાઇને ભણતો (cf. "ગેહ સારતો, આશીરવાદ સારતો, એટલે સઘળી ક્રીઆ કરતો.) The meaning seems to be "when he begins to perform religious ceremonies."

[2] ગાથા ઈજ્યાને વિગેરે ભણવાની ક્રીયાથી.

[3] Contracted form of કાતેબ كاتب writer.

[4] *Vide* p. 152, n. 2.

[5] The first part of this name is not quite clear. But I think it is the same as that which appears in the old copy of the original of 1622 *Samvat* as કઈઆ મણકા. The old copy of *Samvat* 1622 is not a safe guide, because it is not the original itself. I think the name is પઈઆ, the like of which we find in other names. By the help of the second part of this name here, we can correct the second part (father's name) of the name in the document of 1622 as માણક instead of મણકા. The former name is common among Parsees.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Translation.

To the whole of the Anjuman. Writers all the Herbads (priests). To wit. The priest who begins officiating (at the Yaçna ceremony), shall not drink *toddy*. He who drinks *toddy* shall not hold the *barçam* in his hand.[1] He shall be out of the Çârnâ,[2] shall be out of the Barashnûm.[3] And he who performs the ceremony of Bôi before the fire (of the Âtash-Beharâm) shall not drink *toddy*. If he drinks *toddy*, he shall have to be out of the Barashnûm. *Roz* Ardi-behesht *mâh* Aspandarmad *Samvat* 1626. He who performs the Bâj may remain (at his home) from the Agiary during the days of his turn (of office), and shall not come in contact with *darvands* (*i.e.*, non-zoroastrians).

Mahyâr Vâchhâ
Shâpur Âsâ
Gharpâl Kamdin
Pestan Jivâ
Khurshed Baherâm
Hamajiâr Padam
Narsang Sâêr
Baherâm Sahyâr
Kâka's son Aspandyâr
Padam Rustam
Maherji Mânock
Khursed Asdin
Kaiya Mânock
Nusherwan Âsdin
Chandnâ Kâmdin
Rustam Sahyâr
Movad Sâêr
Kaekabâd Mahyâr.

(*Document No.* 9. *The document for the assignment of a Wadi at Pipalia to Dastur Meherji Rana.*

(દસ્તુર મેહરેજી રાનાને આપવામાં આવેલી પીપલીંઆ મધેની વાડી બાબેનો લેખ.)

સંવત ૧૬૨૯ ઊગણત્રી[4] સોતરા વરખે રોજ હોરમજદ મા શહરેવર

[1] The برسم (Av. barəsman) is used only in the Yaçna, Bâj and Vendidâd ceremonies. So to debar one from holding the *barçam*, means that he shall not perform the above ceremonies, *vide* pp. 21-22.

[2] *i.e.*, the higher class of ceremonies in which the barçam is used.

[3] Those who perform the ceremonies in which the barçam is held, have to go through the Barashnûm ceremony.

[4] The figure 29 is repeated in words.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

અથે શ્રી નાગમંડળ કરણે[1] પાદશાહા[2] શ્રીઅકબરશાહા વેજ[2] રાજે હવાલે-ખાન શી કલેચ મહમદખાન વ્યાપારે પંચકુળ પ્રજાપતૈ[3] લાં. શા.[4] મંનોચહેર બહમન તથા પા. નાગુજ માણક તથા નુશેરવાન ચાંગા તથા શે.[5] ધૈયાં આસદીન તથા રૂસ્તમ જમશેદ તા. સમસ્ત બેહેદીન અંજમંન નુસારીનાં આ. મૈહાર વાછા જોગ્ય જત એનામ વાડી પીપલીઆ મથે ભુમી વીંઘાં ૧૦ દસ તાડ ૫૦ પચાસ તા. ખજુરી ૧૦૦ એકસો સાલ પે સાલ[6] એનાંમ પલે[7] દીવાનકનેથી પલાવે[7] સમસ્ત બેહેદીન મલી પલાવે સહી.

નાગુજ માણક (લખતન)	૧ નરીમાં હોમ (લખતં)
૧ લા. નુશેરવાન ચાંગા	૧ આઊવા ધૈયાં લખતમ
૧ લા. રૂસ્તમ જમશેદ	૧ રાણજી બહમન (શા)
૧ લા. ધઈઆં આશદીન	

Translation.

In the year *Samvat* 1629 *roz* Hormazd *mâh* Shaharévar in Nâgmandal[8] in the time of Pâdshâh Akbar Shâh in the victorious rulership[2] of Kalich Mahmad Khân,[9] the ruler of the trading and all the mixed communities. Writers Manochahêr Bahman and Nagôj Mânock and Nusherwân Changâ and Dhaiyân Âsdin and Rustam Jamshed and all of the laymen class of Naôsâri. To Mahyâr Vâchhâ. To Wit, an Inâm[10] wâdi at Pipalia of 10 *bigâhs* of land with 50 palm trees and 100 date trees shall be maintained[11] as *inâm* from year to

---

[1] قرن a generation, time, વખત, અકબરપાદશાહનાં વખતમાં.

[2] વિજય victory.

[3] એ મહમદખાનનાં વિષેસન છે કે "વેપારી પંચકુલ પ્રજાનાં પતી" એટલે વેપારી અને પાંચ વરણની પ્રજાનાં પણી

[4] એ આ. (અખ્યાર) અથવા પા. (પારસી) નેવા ઊપર આવેલા ટુકા રેખના નેવું રેપ છે. એ શા તે શાહનું ટુંકુ રેપ છે, એ શબ્દ હાલપણ હીંદુઓમાં નામની ઇખાણી તરીકે વપડાયછે. કહેછેકે એ કાતુલમાં પણ વપડાય છે.

[5] શે વાંચીએ તો મસેસ્ત (શેઠ)નું એ રેપ હોય.

[6] سال بسال એટલે દર વરસે

[7] કરથી છોડવે. દીવાન કનેથી રાજ્યનાં કરોથી તે ઇનામી જમીન તરીકે ખર્ચખાતે છુટી રખાવે.

[8] An old name of Naôsâri.

[9] *Vide* p. 157 for this personage.

[10] Inâm انعام. According to Badaoni In'âmi-zaminhâ, and In'âmi-dehhâ were some of the old terms applied to lands (Blochmann's Âin-i-Akbari I., p. 271).

[11] The word is પાલે. It is P. پالیدن to rear, to purify. The meaning seems to be that they would see that the land may remain in the hand of Meherji Rana for religious purposes as *inâmi* land, free of taxes. To properly understand this document we must read it in relation with another document (p. 158) given to Meherji Rana's father by the laymen. Or the meaning may be એ વાડી એ નામ ઉપર રહે *i.e.*, the wadi may be on this (Meherji Rana's) name.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

year. It shall be maintained free from taxes from the Diwân (*i.e.*, the civil authorities). All laymen shall so maintain it free.

(Signed.)

Nagôj Mânock	Nariman Hom
Nusherwan Changâ	Auwa Dhaiyân
Rustam Jamshed[1]	Rânji Bahman (witness)
Dhaiyân Ashdin	

We will examine here, who the officer Kalich (Kalij) Mahamad Khân, alluded to in the above document was.

We learn from the Tabakât-i-Akbari that Kalij Khan was the Governor of Surat at this time (1629 *Samvat*, *i.e.*, 1573-74 A. D.). We read in that book: "Now that His Majesty's mind was set quite at rest by the suppression of rebels, and the reduction of their lofty forts, he turned his attention to the conquest of Gujarât. The order was given for the assembling of the army, and on the 20th Safar, 980 (1573), in the 18th year of the reign, the Emperor started and proceeded . . . . . ."[2] The conquest of Surat "was effected on the 23rd Shawwâl in the year 980. Next day the Emperor went on to inspect the fortress . . . . . on the same day he placed the custody of the fort and the government of the country in the hands of Kalij Khân."[3]

Elliot gives the name in the above passage as Kalij Khan, but the text of the Tabakât-i-Akbari gives the full name as قلیچ محمد خان Kalij Mahâmad Khân, as we find it in the text of the document. Elliot's translation is too free. The passage about this officer's appointment is as follows :—

و ہمانروز نام حکومت و حراست قلعہ سورت و آن[4] ناحیہ را اقتدار قلیچ محمد خان کہ بشرف و منزلت اختصاص دارد تفویض شد[5]

i.e., on that very day the Government and the custody of the

[1] On comparing his signature in the original (*vide* the photo-litho) with his name as written in the body of the document, we find that both are very similar. So I think that the document is in the handwriting of this person.

[2] Elliot's History of India, Vol. I., p. 340.

[3] *Ibid*, pp. 350-351.

[4] ناحیہ neighbourhood, surrounding country.

[5] Munshi Newul Kishore's text of 1875, p. 299, ll. 4-5.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

fortress of Surat and its neighbourhood, were confided to the trust of Kalij Mahâmad Khân, who has great distinction in honour and dignity.

This original passage of the Tabakât-i-Akbari shows, that the full name of the officer was the same as that which the document gives, and that he was placed in charge not only of Surat, but of its neighbourhood, of which Naôsâri forms a part. The Tabakât-i-Akbari speaks of him as the jâgirdâr of Surat.

"When the Emperor had settled the affairs of Gujarât, and had returned to his capital, the disaffected and rebellious men . . . once more raised their heads. . . . Kalij Khân, who was jâgirdâr of the fort (Surat), made it secure and prepared for a siege."[1]

In the events of the 23rd year of the reign, Elliot also gives his full name as Muhammad Kalij Khân.[2] Under the events of the 29th year of the reign, we still find him named as the "Jâgirdâr of Surat."[3]

(*Document No.* 10. *Document assigning a Wadi to Rana Jeshang.*
રાણા જેસંગને એક વાડી ધર્મખાતે આપવા બાબેનો લેખ.)
૭૪॥ શ્રી દીનનીખાતર બેહદીવાને...

સંવત ૧૫૭૬ છુતરા વર્ખે મા બહમન રોજ બહમન અદેહ[4] શ્રી નાગમંડલ કણે[5] પાતશાહ શ્રી સુલતાન મજફરશાહ વ્યજરાજે અસલ મલક શ્રી ઈબ્રામ નસીર વ્યાપારે પંચકુલ પ્રજપતૈ લખતં શ્રી માણક વાંગા વ[6] આ.[7] આસદીન મેહેરવાન વ[6] શ્રી પૈયાં રાણાં વ[6] શ્રી રાણાં જમાસ વ[6] શ્રી આસા બહેરામ વ માણક બહેરામ વ[6] એા. ખુરશેદ ચાચા વ[6] બહેરામ સાગર વ સમરલોક વ[6] નૈયા રાણા વ ગા.[8] મહેરવાન એવેદ રાણા જેસંગ જોગ્ય જત તાડ વ ભૂમી

[1] Elliot, V., p. 360. [2] *Ibid*, p. 404. [3] *Ibid*, p. 434.

[4] In the similar document of Meherji Rana (No. 9) અષે *adhê*. Perhaps સંસ્કૃત અધ્ય *i.e.*, "now, then" signifying 'at the time'.

[5] For કણ, *vide* document No. 9 p. 156 n. 1 બાદશાહના વખતમાં.

[6] This word is Persian, *va* 'and' used for Gujrati 'અને' or 'તથા' used in the other similar document of Meherji Rana (No. 9).

[7] આ. doubtful, perhaps contracted form for આસ્તા Av. [illegible].

[8] ગા. This seems to be a contracted form of a word like આ. for અંધીઆર્ય. for પારસી, શ્રી for શ્રેષ્ઠ or શ્રીમંત, એ. for એરવદ. Perhaps it is the contracted form of the Gujrati word ગોર or ગોરજી *i.e.*, a priest. It seems, that this word was at one time applied to Parsee priests by their laymen, because the word ગોરાણી is still sometimes used for a wife of a priest, who prepares sacred breads, &c., for the ritual. Perhaps the word ગોર was specially applied to those priests who prepared દરુન *daruns* or sacred breads and sacred food used in the ritual.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

અનામ[1] તાડ ૧૦૦ તથા ભૂમી વીંધા ૧૦ દસ અંકે તાડ સુપ્ત[2] રહે. રાણા જેસંગને સાલ પે સાલ પાલે[3] તાડ વ ભૂમી ન માલા ખાએ[4] સાલ પ સાલ પાલે સમસ્ત બહેદીન મલી પાલે સહી એ વાત કલ[5] કાવલ[6] નહી દીવાનથી પલાવે. સમસ્ત એકે દીધરી[7] થાઈ પલાવે.

૧ લખતં માણક ચાંગા
૧ લા. આસદીન મહેરવાન
૧ લખતં ધેઈયાં રાણા સેહી[8]
૧ લા. રાણા જામાસ[9]
૧ લખતં ખુરસેદ ચાચા
૧ લા. માણક બહેરામ
૧ લે. આશા બહેરામ
૧ લા. નઈઆ રાણા ધેઈઆં
૧ લખત. બેરામ સાગર
૧ લ. બહેરામ રાણા

Translation.

For the sake of religion, Bahadîns.[10]

By the name of God.

In the year *Samvat* 1576 at the time of month (*mâh*) Bahman, day (*rôz*) Bahman, in Nâgmandal, in the time of the

[1] ઇનામની ભુમી ફા. انعام. According to Badâôni Inâm-i-Zaminha, In'âm-i-Dehhâ were some of the terms used before the Moghuls. (Blochmann's Ain-í-Âkbari I., p. 271.)

[2] સોપેલી રહે P. سفتر *sufta* 'gift.'

[3] پالیدن to rear, educate; to purify. પાલવું. The meaning seems to be that they would see that it remains in the hand of Rana Jesang for the above religious purpose (દીનની ખાતર) from year to year, free of taxes.

[4] "ન માલા ખાએ" એટલે "ન માલે સાએ" *i.e.*, ૬૨ વગર. I think it is the corrupted form of نرمال سایر *i.e.*, without miscellaneous revenues, *i.e.*, free of tax. For the words مال માલ *mâl*, and سایر *vide* above, p. 98.

[5] كل *kall*, trouble, injustice, a heavy burden.

[6] Perhaps قول *qûwal* speakers. The meaning seems to be that "there should be no troubles and questions or inquiries in the matter."

[7] یک دگری uniting one with another, *i.e.*, in concert with one another.

[8] Or perhaps સેઠ. An old copy of this document reads it સેઠ.

The document seems to be in the handwriting of this man, because on comparing the names of the signatories, as written in the body of the document, with their own signatures at the bottom of the document, we find, that in the case of all signatories, their names and signatures differ a little in style and form, but in the case of this રાણા જામાસ Râná Jâmâs they resemble a good deal.

[9] Doubtful. Perhaps for بر دیوانی *i.e.*, civil matter.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

victorious[1] rulership of Padshâh Sultân Muzaffar Shâh,[2] in the rule of king Ibhrâm Naçir,[2] the ruler of the trading and all mixed communities. Writers Manock Châṅgâ,[3] and Âsdin Meherwân and Dhaiyân Rânâ and Rânâ Jamâs and Âsâ Baherâm and Manock Baherâm and Khurshed Châchâ and Baherâm Sâgar and the whole of the community and Naiyâ Rânâ and Meherwan.[4] To Ervad Rânâ Jesang. To wit, palm-trees and Inâm land, 100 palm trees and 10 *bigâhs* of land may be given. It (*i.e.*, the land) shall be kept with Rânâ Jesang free of taxes from year to year. The palm trees and the land shall be maintained free of taxes from year to year. All the laymen together shall maintain it free of taxes. There shall be no trouble and bother about it. It shall be kept free from the civil authorities. All uniting one with another shall maintain it free.

(Signed)—

Manock Châṅgâ
Âsdin Meherwân
Dhaiyân Rana
Rânâ Jâmâs

---

[1] જ્યન રાજ, જ્યન is the same as વીજય meaning 'victorious.'

[2] *Vide* below, p. 161 for this personage.

[3] For notes on some of the words of this document, *vide* the footnotes under the Gujarati document, p. 158-59.

[4] This man seems to have been popularly known as ગો. મેહરવાન Go or Gor Meherwan, but his real name seems to be બેહરામ રાણા Behrâm Rânâ, because he puts down his signature as such. There are ten persons named in the body of the document and these ten persons sign the document. In the signatures the order is changed a little. The first four signatories sign in the order of their names in the document. Then the fifth signatory ખુરસેદ ખાચા Khoorsed Châchâ is the seventh in the order of the names in the document, and the eighth signatory આસા બેહરામ Âsâ Behrâm is the fifth in the body of the document. Then the eighth and ninth persons બેહરામ સાગર Behrâm Sâgar and નૈયા રાણા Nayiâ Rânâ in the document similarly change places as signatories. Naiyâ Rânâ signs seventh as નૈયા રાણા ધઈઆં Naiyâ Rana Dhaiyân. Then the tenth or the last person on the list ગો. મેહરવાન Go. Meherwân signs as બેહરામ રાણા Behram Rânâ. This shows then that ગો. મેહરવાન Go Meherwan must be his popular name, while his real name was Behrâm Rana. Again, we find that the writer seems to have first intended to close his list with the 8th person Behrâm Sâgar because he has put after this name the words સમસ્તલોક *i. e.*, "and all the community or all the people," but after writing these words he has added the above two names of the ninth and tenth signatories.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Khurshed Châchâ
Manock Baherâm
Naiyâ Rânâ Dhaiyân
Asa Behrâm
Berâm Sâgar
Baherâm Rânâ

The king (Padshâh) Sultan Muzaffar Shâh referred to in this document of *Samvat* 1576 (1520 A. D.) is the Sultan Muhammad Muzaffar of Gujarat. He is one of the five Mahomedan kings, referred to by Bâbar in his Tuzak-i-Bâbari, as ruling in India when he conquered the country. He says, "At the period when I conquered that country, five Musulmân kings and two Pagans exercised royal authority. Although there were many small and inconsiderable *Râîs* and *Râjûs* in the hills and woody country, yet these were the chief and the only ones of importance. One of these powers was the Afghâns, whose Government included the capital. . . . . The second prince was Sultân Muhammad Muzaffar in Gujarât. He had departed this life a few days before Sultân Ibrâhim's[1] defeat. He was a prince well skilled in learning, and fond of reading the *hadis* (or traditions)."[2] He is known in history,[3] as Muzaffar II. He reigned in Gujarât for 15 years from A.D. 1511 (917 Hijri) to 1526.

The king ઈબ્રામ નસીર Ibhrâm Naçir seems to be Ibrâhim Lodi.

(*Document No.* 11. દીવ લખેલો કાગજ. *The letter to Diu wherein Dastur Meherji Rânâ is referred to as the leading priest.*)

લ. અ.[4] કાકા સુત[5] આસદીન બહેદીન દોવના સમસ્ત કે બ[6] પહાના એ એજદાં બાદ જત બ[7] ચાંદિ ક્યામદીન હુ લીએ[8] અગ્યારી માંહે અલો જ (ન)

[1] Ibrahim Lodi whom he defeated in 1526 in the battle of Pânipat.

[2] Elliot IV. p. 259.

[3] Elphinstone's History of India, 5th Edition, by Cowell, p. 765.

[4] Contracted from લખતન અંપીઆરૂ.

[5] A son. Kaka's son Asdin કાકાનો છોકરો આસદીન. આસદીનકાકા.

[6] Looks like ન but it is 'બ.' Compare it with the first letter in the word બરશનુમ in l. 6 of the original بِبِنَاءً بِزِدَانِ بَادْ

[7] Doubtful. Perhaps બે.

[8] Doubtful. Perhaps જત બે ચાંદ ક્યામદીન હુ લીએ (એટલે મારી સાથે)

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ચાર બેઠા હતા તેહાં એમ કહિઉ જે દીવનાં સમસ્ત બેહેદીને કહ્યું જે એક હેવેદ બરીતુમ સુ[1] આંહાં આવે તે બાજ ઘણું તા. ગેહેસારણું કરે અહારાં મુઆંની નિમત[2] આફેગાન કરે તેહેની અહમો જેહે વાછુ[3] તેહેવી તેહેની તતબુ[4] કરૂં તે વાત કીધા પર એ. શ્રી મહેરજી રાંણાં નુએક શુડવી[5] તાકીદ કરી દીનનાં કાંમ ચાલતાં કરવા મોકલઈએા છે ખુબ છે લાએક છે ડાહુ[6] છે સાંસતુ[7] છે જેહવુ આપણો દીને જોઈએ તેહવું છે. એહની તતબુ એહના કેલ[8] જોઇ કરજો સહી રો.[9] ગુઆદ મા. આદર સંવત ૧૬૪૬ વર્ષે.

સમસ્ત બહેદીન નએ[10] અહારૂં પનાહે અજદાં બાદ કતેબુ[11]

Translation.

"Writer priest[12] Kâkâ's son Asdin. To all the Bahadins (*i.e.*, laymen) of Diu. May they be in the protection of God. To wit, two persons (*viz.*) Chanda Kiamdin with myself (*i.e.*, altogether), we four persons had sat together in the Agiâry (*i.e.*, fire-temple). There it was said that all the Bahadins of Diu have said that "a Herbad (*i.e.*, priest) with Barashnum,[13] may come here, that he may perform the Bâj and Gehsârnâ[14] ceremony, that he perform the Afringân ceremony, for the repose of our dead, and that we will continue,[15] him as you will fix." On these words being said

---

[1] મુધાં.

نيمت *nimat* sleep, slumber (peace) મુઆંની સાંતી માટે or for نيت *naiyat* નઇઅત intention.

[3] ? واچيدن to collect, to pick out. જે મુકરર હોય. Or it can be read જેહવા ધુરે (for ધરે) doubtful.

[4] P. تتبع searching diligently, continuation બાલુ રાખલો, જેવી *i.e.*, જેવી રીતે ઘટે તેવી રીતે.

[5] Doubtful reading, *vide* p. 163, n. 1.

[6] For ડાહ્યો wise. બોલેદ સારો છે, લાયક છે, ડાહ્યો છે, ધતતો છે.

[7] شايستن શાયસ્તે worthy, fit. Or perhaps 'patient' as in પીરો સાંસતો

[8] કામ فعل work. એનાં ક્રમ જોઇ એની મોકરી બાલુ રાખજા.

[9] રોજ روز

[10] نيتر *niyat*, aiming at, intention. નઇઅતે, માટે, or towards.

[11] of the كاتب *i.e.*, the writer. અમો લખનારની ખજદા પનાહ બાદ.

[12] આ. Contraction of અંધ્યારૂ andhiâroo, *i.e.*, priest.

[13] *i.e.*, an officiating priest who had gone through the Barashnum ceremony.

[14] The funeral prayers to be recited near a dead body before its being removed to the Tower of Silence. The prayer recited is yaçna Chaps. XXVIII to XXXIV.

[15] If you read it તતબુ it is تتبع *tatabba*, searching diligently, continuation, or it may be corruption of તનખ્વાહ stipend.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Ervad Meherji Rânâ agreed [1] and has hastened to send (a priest) for carrying on religious rites (lit. affairs). He is a good, fit, wise, (and) worthy man. He is just what is required for our religion. Continue him (in your service) looking to his work. *Rôz* Guâd *mâh* Adar year *samvat* 1646. May our good wishes be for the protection of God upon all Behdins."

Having given above, copies of the documents referred to in the paper, I will now give here the colophons of some of the manuscripts, and extracts of letters, &c., referred to therein.

(Colophon of the old manuscript of 1792 A. D., which contains Tansen's song—*vide* above, p. 42.)

એ કેતાબ રાગ તા. કુખીત તા. ચંધરધાચનેા કીશેા વગેરે તમામ થાઈ શ્રી રોજ આબાં ઈજદ માહા મુબારક બહમન અમિશાશપંદ શને ૧૧૬૧૭અ જદજરદીનાં. ૧૮૪૮ આખાડ વદ ૧૩ શેમે તમાં કીખી. એ કેતાબને લખાવનાર નેકનામ, નેક નઈએત, દીન દોશત, આલી હીમત, અશેા પરવર, રોશન તાલે બેહેદીન શ્રીજમશેદજી ગુરથમાં મકાંની કૂકાજી પેાતે પેાતાનાં મુતાલે [2] તા. વાચવા ખાહેશ કરી લખાવી શહી. એ કેતાબનેા લખનાર કમતરીન ખાકશાર મેાબેદ જાદે મૂબેદ બેહેરામ વલદે માબેદ જી જી શૂરતનેા રેહનારાએ લખી શહી. એ કેતાબ જે કેાઈ વાંચે તે ભુલચુક દેખે તાંહાં શમારે શહી.[3]

(Tansen's song about Dastur Meherji Rânâ—*vide* above, p. 42, copied from f. 81b. of the above old manuscript.)

(એ રાગ શારંગ છે બપેારના ગાએ)

ઈઆહૂ પારશી પઢે શેા કબૂલ,
ઈઆ બણી પારશી પઢે શેા કબૂલ.
અગરકી પીઠ ચંદન લપેટેઉ.
જેશેાઈ મૂખડ પેડ.
ઈઆહૂ પારશી પઢે શેા કબૂલ.

---

[1] Perhaps એક શુદ વી તારીદ કરી. P. يک شد و تاکيد کرد એકમત થય અને તાકીદ કીધી. [2] مطالع reading, study, અભ્યાસ.

[3] Colophon at the end, folio 237b—238. The book has in all 239 folios with 13 lines in a page. From folio 202 we have the story of Changragâcha, an Indian sage, who is said to have visited the Court of King Gushtâsp to discuss religious matters with Zoroaster. The writer calls his book "રાગ તા. કુખીત તા. ચપરમાચનેા કીશેા" *i.e.*, the book of songs and poems, and of the story of Changragâcha. For Changragâcha and for his visit, *vide* "Zoroastre, Essai sur la Philosophie Religieuse de la Perse, par M. Joachim Ménant" (1857), pp. 57, &c. Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Irân, by Prof. Jackson, pp. 85—88.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ઇંખી ઇંખી દાહાડી શાહ મેહેરીઆર.
તેરી મૂખપર બરશત નૂર.
ઈઆહૂ પારશી પઢે શેા કબૂલ.
કેહે તેા મીરાં તાંન શંગ.
શૂનેા શાહ અકબર.
ઈઆહી મેહેશતેા કેા ફૂલ.
ઈઆહૂ પારશી પઢે શેા કબૂલ.

(*Translation of the song of Tansen.*)

Oh Lord![1] the Parsee's prayer is accepted,
Oh Master! the Parsee's prayer is accepted.
The back of *agar*[2] and sandalwood is put round it,
With it there is a piece of sandalwood.[3]
Oh Lord! the Parsee's prayer is accepted.
Shâh Meheryâr![4] you have a long beard,
Glory rains over your face.
Oh Lord! the Parsee's prayer is accepted.
Miân Tansen says,
Oh King Akbar! hear me,
He is the flower of the paradise.
Oh Lord! the Parsee's prayer is accepted.

---

[1] Yâ-hû, *i.e.*, Oh God — *Vide* Blochmann's Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 170. "His Majesty passed whole nights in thoughts of God; he continually occupied himself with pronouncing the names *Yâ hu* and *Yâ hadi*." The word here seems to be originally Ahu (Avesta 𐬀𐬵), and it is applied in Persian even to kings. The song being transcribed in Gujrati, its language and orthography may not be quite correct. [2] *Agar* (aloe wood) is a kind of fragrant twig.

[3] The meaning of this second distich is not quite clear, but it seems to tell how the Parsee Meheryâr (another proper form of Meherji) referred to in the song said his prayers, placing fragrant wood and twigs in the fire.

[4] For the word Shâh, *vide* above, p. 156, n. 4.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

(Mahârâjâ Sir Sourendro Mohun Tagore's letter, about Tansen's song—*vide* above, p. 44.)

Hara Kumara Bhabana,
Pathuria Ghata Raj Bati,
Calcutta, 6th February 1902.

To

J. JAMSHEDJI MODI, Esqre.,

DEAR SIR,—I am of opinion, so far as my humble belief goes, that the song which you had sent me as Tansen's is, as I already wired to you, his. Though the language is not that in which he ordinarily composed his songs, yet from the construction and general style of the piece, the song affords internal evidence of being the composition of that great singer. The piece, I understand, is sung in the Sâranga Ragini, and if this tune has been traditionally handed down, this is another proof of the piece being Tansen's, for *Darliâri Kânârâ* and Sâranga are known to have been his favourite Raginis.

Yours truly,

(Sd.) SOURENDRO MOHUN TAGORE,

Mus. Doc. Oxon.

Extracts from letters of Drs. West, Geldner and Mills, with reference to the alleged ignorance of the Parsees of Gujrât in the 16th Century—vide *above, p.* 52.

Dr. West says : —

"I have carefully read the contents of the Newspaper Cuttings, and need only say that my opinions, regarding the matters in dispute, practically coincide with those expressed by the writers whose signatures are Ed. Ochiltree, Junior, and J. O. E.[1] . . . . .

"Regarding the alleged ignorance and incapacity of the Gujerat Parsis, both priests and laity, in the 16th century, I believe that such an accusation would be a gross exaggeration of the actual facts. It appears to be based upon certain statements made in the

[1] Prof. S. H. Hodiwala's letters to the *Bombay Gazette*, in its issues of 24th August, 30th and 31st October, 5th November and 7th December 1896. His letter in the issue of 5th November 1896 is worth studying. Therein he has produced a number of instances as evidence to show that "even in those ages, supposed to be so dark, there were Parsees possessing a knowledge, not only of Sanscrit, but of Zend and Pahlavi"—*vide* below, p. 167, for his views on the general charge of ignorance.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Rivayets brought by Nareman Hoshang from Iran in 1478 and 1486. Strictly speaking, these were written about a century before the time of Meherji Rana, but it will be instructive to consider how far they were correct in their own time.

"One of the Iranian Scribes of the Rivayet of 1478 wrote in Persian as follows :—

"For this reason I have not written these things in Pahlavi writing, inasmuch as Nareman Hoshang said and declared that perhaps (*magar*) priests and laymen of the Mazda-worshippers of Nausari, Kambay, Broach, Surat, and Anklesar may not be understanding Pahlavi writing. He said there are laymen of these towns, and even priests, who perchance do not understand Pahlavi writing." But the earlier part of the same Rivayet contains a Pazand colloquy between Zaratusht and Ormazd, written in Avesta characters, also some extracts from the Gathas in Avesta and Pazand, as well as occasional Pahlavi phrases, with plenty of Persian This free use of Avesta and Persian writing, and even some Pahlavi, clearly shows that the Iranian scribe had no real fear of not being understood by the Indian Parsis (whose vernacular was old Gujerati, and to whom even Persian was a foreign language) unless he used too much Pahlavi.

"With regard to the questions taken to Yezd by Nareman Hoshang, it seems to me (judging from the replies to about forty, which may be found scattered about in various parts of Darab Hormazyar's Rivayet Collection) that the queries, propounded by the Indian Parsis, do generally imply not so much any ignorance on the part of their priests, as an increasing reluctance on the part of the laity to comply with their teachings and decisions. The laity, living among those of other religions, would naturally find many of the precautionary observances and customs, enjoined by their own priesthood both troublesome and oppressive. Under such circumstances, the priests and more conservative elders would at last find it necessary to refer the principal matters in dispute to their brethren in Iran, so as to have their opinion to quote among their own more unruly members.

"If the Indian Parsi priesthood had been really ignorant and indifferent about their religion, they would not have undertaken the trouble and expense of referring such matters to a higher Court of

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Appeal, such as the Iranian priesthood must have appeared to be to the Indian Parsis. And the questions, thus referred, seldom involve any of the great fundamental dogmas of the Parsi religion, but are nearly always confined to details of ritual and purification, or to matters of casuistry.

"The same may be said of all the other Rivayets and writings which were obtained from Iran, from time to time, during the next two centuries. They all indicate the deep interest which the Parsi priests and laity took in the preservation of their religion, and in obtaining copies of rare manuscripts from Iran." (Extract from Dr. West's letter, dated Maple Lodge, Watford, June 10th, 1898, to Mr. Mancherji Palanji Kutar.)

Dr. Geldner says:—

". . . . It may be that such Dastur lived in the obscure corner of Gujerat. With Brahmins and Jews also, it is also often the case that the real traditional knowledge lived on in corners. In certain Indian Dastur families the knowledge of Pahlavi must have remained traditional. Where otherwise—to mention only one—would the venerable Dastur Hoshangji in Poona, the teacher of the Europeans, have acquired his knowledge of the Pahlavi? Consequently a learned Pahlavi scholar was very well able to explain the doctrines of Zoroaster to the great Mogul in a convincing manner.

"The Revayets, too, do not always treat elementary subjects, but often some with very important questions. Cf. Sacred Books of the East. Vol. XXXVII., pp. 419, &c. They frequently give the authoritative decisions of the learned Dasturs in Iran.

"It is reported that Jâmâsp brought the Farvardin Yasht to India in 1721, which was said to have been lost there. This loss can only refer to certain congregations and not to the Parsees of India in general. The fact is that this Yasht existed in India at that time in several copies, and partly in a better state than the Persian MS. gave, but it was possibly kept secret by the owners." (Extract from Dr. Geldner's letter, dated Berlin, 25th August 1898, to Mr. Mancherji P. Kutar.)

Prof. S. H. Hodiwala says:—

". . . . . Every scholar in fact knows that Pahlavi and Pazand manuscripts of the sixteenth century are comparatively numerous. May

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

we not ask the meanings of these facts? May we not ask why so many of these copies were taken at Navsari? May we not ask why these copies should have been so carefully multiplied, if the ignorance in Gujerat was so universal that no one, whether priest or layman, could read or understand them? Perhaps, it will be said that merely copying manuscripts requires no knowledge of the language on the part of the scribe. This is certainly not strictly true, but even if it were, what can be the object of having work copied if nobody can make any use of them? . . . . . Besides the colophons of many of these transcripts contain express statements as to their having been made by priests for their own use—a fact which certainly militates against this theory of universal ignorance. But this is not all. We have something more than mere copies of the sacred texts. . . . . These efforts were really the earliest manifestations of a kind of literary activity whose ampler fruits we possess in the works of Hormuzdyar and his son Darab, of Rustam Peshotan, and many others in the next century" (Extract from a letter to the *Bombay Gazette* in its issue of 5th November 1896.)

Dr. Mills says: —

". . . . . A highly intelligent traditional knowledge existed among Parsi priests at the time of Akbar, and before and after. And Akbar would certainly not have been so foolish as to get a Parsi who knew nothing to inform him." (Extract from Dr. Mills' letter, dated 119, Essex Road, Oxford, May 25, 1898, to Mr. Mancherji Palonji Kutar.)

(Colophons of Pazend and Persian manuscripts written by Rânâ Jesang, the father, and Kaikobâd, the son, of Dastur Meherji Rana, *vide* above, p. 68.)

I have come across three old Pazend and Persian manuscript books which tend to show that the family of Dastur Meherji Rana was a learned family. They had that amount of learning which one may expect in those times from learned priests. Besides Gujrâti the language of their country, and Avesta, the language of their scriptures, they knew Pazend and Persian languages.

The first old manuscript that I want to draw attention to, is an old manuscript of the Pazend Jâmâspi written by Rana Jesang, the father of Dastur Meherji Rana. It belongs to the first Dastur

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Meherji Rana Library of Naosari.[1] I give below the colophon in Persian given at the end of the book. It gives its date as *roz* Meher, *mah* Ardibehesht, year 873 Yazdajardi (1560 *Samvat*), *i.e.*, 1504 A.D.

(Colophon of the manuscript of the Pazend Jamâspi written by Rana Jesang, the father of Dastur Meherji Rana.)

تمام شد این [2] کاتب جاماسپي من دین بندهٔ از کمترین خاک رویان رانان بن هربد جیسنک بن هربد دادا بن هربد جیسنک بن هربد موبد بن هربد قیام دین بن هربد موبد بن هربد کامدین بن هربد زرتشت بن موبد هرمزدیار بن هربد رامیار از نسخه دیر زیوشني هربد کروا بن [3] بیکجیو بهروجي نوشتم از جهت دانشنی نوفر پنکیانرا و کرفه وخشسني بهدینانرا تن درستي دیر زیشني ایو په گیتي اشو په مینوی روانرا گرور تماني باد روز مهر و ماه اردیبهشت سال پشصد پفتاد سه بهندیوی سال

संवत १५६० वर्षे रोज महिर मा. अर्दबहिश्त पारसी संवत ८७६ वर्षे.

Translation.

Completed. I am the writer of Jâmâspi, I a servant of the religion from the humblest of the dust-faced,[4] I Rana, son of Herbad Jesang, son of Herbad Dâdâ, son of Herbad Jesang, son of Herbad Mobad, son of Herbad Kayâmdin, son of Herbad Mobad, son of Herbad Kâmdin, son of Herbad Zartusht, son of Mobad Harmazdyâr, son of Herbad Râmyâr. I have written it from a copy of Herbad Karvâ (may he live long), son of Bikajiv of Broach, for the knowledge of new preceptors and for the increase of righteousness of the Behdins (*i.e.*, the Zoroastrians). May there be health of body, long life, *i.e.*, in this physical world, may they be righteous, (and) in the spiritual world may their souls attain paradise. *Roz* Meher, *mah* Ardibehesht year eight hundred and seventy-three. In Indian year *Samvat* 1560 *roz* Meher, *mah* Ardibehesht, Parsee era 873.

[1] *Vide* the catalogue of the library published in 1894, Gujrati list of Pahlavi, Pazend and Persian manuscripts, p. 62, manuscript No. 9.

[2] One may take it as miswritten for کتاب and complete the sentence at the next word جاماسپي, but the sentence must be completed with the words تمام شد [3] For either Bhicâji or Vicâji.

[4] Khâk-ruyân. It may be khâk-rubân. A term of humility, an equivalent of خاکسار

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The manuscript is written in Pazend and the colophon in Persian. This shows that Rana Jesang knew languages other than the language of the country, the Gujrati.

The next manuscript written by Rana Jesang is that of the Bahman-nameh.[1] It belongs to Mr. Minocherjee Burjorjee Pavree. It has 378 folios, *i.e.*, 756 pages, with 13 couplets in a page.[2] Its colophon at the end, giving the name of the writer and its date, runs thus:—

تمام شد این کتاب بهمن نامه ایو پنتو ایو اشهي[3] تمام شد این داستان شاه بهمن بن اسفندیار شاه ملوک ایران بیزدان کام باد فرجیه پدرود شادی و رامشني و دیرزیوشني من دین بنده کاتب الحروف پیربد رانان بن پیربد جیسنک بن پیربد دادا از گوهر موبد هورمزیار پیربد راعیار اندر قصبه نوساري در عهد محمود شاه سلطان بن لطیف خان برادر زاده بهادر شاه سلطان بروز آسناد و ماه آدر سال نهصد پانزده از تاریخ ایزدزرد شهریار و شهود سنه خمس خمسین تسع ماه و بندی سال سموت سول چود و نوء (folio 378a, l. 13.)

Translation.

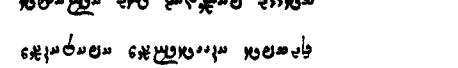
This book of Bahman Nâmah is finished. There is only one path which is that of virtue (or piety).

This narrative of king Bahman, the son of Asfandyar, the king of the kings of Irân, is finished. May it be according to the wish of God. Finished with good wishes, joy and pleasure and long life. I a servant of the religion, the writer of these writings (am) Herbad Ranâ, the son of Herbad Jesang, the son of Herbad Dâdâ from the family stock of Mobed Hormazyâr, (son of) Herbed Râmyâr, in the city

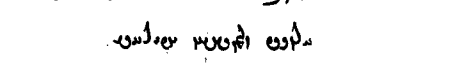
[1] Le Livre des Rois par M. Mohl, Vol. I., Preface, p. LXVIII.

[2] This gives (756 × 13 =) 9828 couplets or distiches. M. Mohl says: "Le Bahman-nameh contient à peu près dix mille distiques." *Ibid.*

[3] It is the first line, written in Persian characters, of the following Avesta proverb which is found at the end of several old Parsee manuscripts.



i.e, there is only one path of virtue. All other paths are no paths. The Pahlavi rendering of it is :—



NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of Naosari, in the time of Mahmûd Shâh[1] Satâu bin (*i.e.*, son of) Latif Khân, the nephew of Bahâdur Shâh Sultan, on day Âstâd and month Âdar, year nine hundred and fifteen, of the era of Yazdagird Sheheryâr. Friday,[2] year 955 (Hijri),[3] Hindi year *Samvat* sixteen hundred and two.

The third manuscript I wish to refer to, is an old manuscript of the Persian Darâb-nameh,[4] belonging to Mr. Mâhiar Nowroji Kutâr. The manuscript is dated 1025 Yazdajardi (A.D. 1656). It appears from this manuscript that Dastur Kaikobad, the son of Dastur Meherji Rana, had taken a copy of the Persian Dârâb-nâmeh from the libraryof king Akbar. Dastur Kaikobad's own manuscript is not to be found, but the old manuscript of 1656 notes the fact.[5] It is a MS. of 266 folios with 25 lines in a page.

The following lines in the colophon narrate the way in which the manuscript came to be written :—

تمت تمام بذالکتاب دارابنامه درسنه الف..... شهر شعبان یوم یکشنبه بتاریخ سیوم وقت فجر بخط بشوتن ابن فریدون لقب ارویسگاپان در قصبه نوساری تحریر یافت فرجبد بدرود و شادی و رامشنی روز رشن ماه مهر مبارک سال اور یکهزار و بیست و پنج از شهنشاه یزدگرد شهریار از تخمه ساسان ابن ادرشیر ابن اسفندیار ابن کشتاسپ نوشتر شد

श्रीमं नृप विक्रमार्क समयातीत सवत १७१२ वर्षे शाके १५७८ प्रवर्त्तमाने उत्तरायन गते श्री सूर्ये सन्मागल्य परदे परम पद पवित्र जेष्ठ मासे शुक्लपक्षे पंचमी तीथौ रविवासरे पुष्य नक्षत्रे ध्रुव योगे बवकरणे एवं पंचांग शुधौ रविर्गते वर्ष राशौ

---

[1] This Mahmūd Shâh was Mahmūd III. of Gujrât, who reigned for 16 years from 1538 A.D. (944 Hijri) to 1553-54 (961 Hijri). Elphinstone says on this point, "Bahâdurshâh's natural heir was his nephew Mahmūd, the son of Latif Khân." (Elphinstone's History of India, Fifth edition, by Cowell (1866).)

[2] شهود *shuhûd*, Friday.

[3] خمس *khams* five. خمسین fifty. تسع *tisa* 'nine.' ما one hundred. So the whole number is, $5+50+9\times100=955$.

[4] Le Livre des Rois, par M. Mohl, Vol. I, Preface, p. lxxiv.

[5] The following lines in the colophon give the date of the manuscript :—

فرجبد بدرود و شادی ورامشنی روز رشن ماه مهرمبارک سال اور یک هزار و بیست و پنج از شهنشاه یزدگرد شهریار

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

चंद्र गते कर्क राशौ एवं शुध्धं श्री दाराबनामः पुस्तकं लिखितं फरेदून सुत पेशुतं न लिखितं समाहा.[1]

چون این کتاب جان افزا در بلاد ہند وغیرہ غریب است
از آنش کم کسی بدیدہ وازین مشکین نقاب دلربا مشام اہل تاتار
و خطا بوئی نشنیدہ در اکثر امصار و بلدان انوا ہیچ کس نداشتہ
و نیافتہ مگر بکتب خانۂ شریفہ حضرت بادشاہ ..... جلال الدنیا
والدین محمد اکبر بادشاہ غازی خلداللہ تعلی ملکہ ابدا بنظر اندر
آمد و چون اشتیاق این کتاب نادر مقبول خاطر بجناب مکرمت آیاب ...
سعادت دثار مفخر اہل فارس یعنی نوشیروان ابن بہمن شاہ پارسي
ساکن قصبہ نوساری طول عمرہ وزاد قدرہ فوق الحد بود بنوشتن
اشارت ارزانی فرمود بنابر حکم ایشان اقل العباد کیقباد ابن
مہیار پارسی کمر خدمتکاری برمیان جان استوار کردہ سعی تمام و
کوشش لاکلام بجای آوردہ تا از روی آن منقول غریب مسودہ شکستہ
بہتر بسمت تحریر یافتہ بود و ازان مسودہ ... خواجگی حیو رضي اللہ عنہ
بخط عبدالرحمان در برکنہ پانسوت رقم کنانیدہ بود بس آن کتاب بدست
مرزا بن مرزا محمد زمان آمدہ ازان مسودہ این کتاب تحریر یافت
بخط بشوتن برای خود (Folio 266 a, l. 20.)

Translation.

"Finished this[2] book of Dârâb-nâmeh in the year one thousand

---

[1] I give below the correct rendering of the Sanskrit in modern Gujrati types, and its translation as kindly done for me by a friend. My English translation is rendered from the Gujrati version.

શ્રીમન્ નૃપ વિક્રમાર્ક સમયાતીત સંવત ૧૭૧૨ વર્ષે શાકે ૧૫૭૮ પ્રવર્તમાને ઉત્તરાયન ગતે શ્રીસૂર્યે સન્ માંગલ્ય પ્રદે પરમ પદ પવિત્ર જેઠ માસે શુક્લ પક્ષે પંચમી તીથૌ રવિવાસરે પુષ્ય નક્ષત્રે ધ્રુવ યોગે ભવ કરણે એવં પંચાંગ શુધ્ધૌ સ્વૌ ગતે વૃષરાશૌ ચંદ્રગતે કર્ક રાશૌ એવં શુધ્ધમ્ શ્રી દારાબનામ પુસ્તકમ્ લિખીતમ્ ફરેદૂન સુત પેશુતન લિખિતમ્ શમ્.

અર્થ.

શ્રીમાન રાજા વીક્રમાર્કના સમયને ૧૭૧૨ વર્ષ ગયાં ત્યારે, અને શાલીવાનના શકનું વર્ષ ૧૫૭૮ ચાલતું હતું ત્યારે, અને સૂર્ય ઉત્તરાયનમાં હતો ત્યારે, સાચા મંગલને આપનાર ઘણા પવિત્ર જેઠ શુદ ૫ રવિવાર પુષ્ય નક્ષત્ર, ધ્રુવયોગ, ભવકરણ, હતા. એ પ્રમાણે પંચાંગ શુધ્ધી હતી ત્યારે રવી વૃષભ રાશીનો હતો અને ચંદ્ર કર્ક રાશીનો હતો, ત્યારે આ દારાબનામાનું પુસ્તક ફરેદુનના પુત્ર પેશુતને લખ્યું. શુભથાઓ.

[2] ہذہ hazâ.

. . . . .[1] in month Shâbân,[2] on day Sunday, on the 30th day at the time of morning. Written by the hand of Beshôtan,[3] son of Faridun surnamed Arvisgahân,[4] in the town of Naosari. Finished with good wishes, joy, and pleasure. Written on the day Rashna, auspicious month Meher, year 1025 of king Yazdagard Sheheryâr of the line of descent of Sâsân, the son of Ardeshir, son of Asfandyâr, son of Gushtâsp.

In the year 1712 of the glorious king Vikramark, in the year 1578 of Sâlivân era, when the sun was in the winter solstice, on the true auspicious holy day *Jeth Shûd* 5 Sunday, *Pushya nakshatra*,[5] *Dhruva yôga*,[6] *Bav Karana*.[7] When the positions of the heavenly bodies, according to the calendar, were in these proper positions, the sun was in the Taurus and the moon in the Cancer. It was then that this book of Dârâb-nâmeh was written by Peshutan, the son of Faridun. May it be auspicious.

---

[1] There is a gap which the writer seems to have thought of filling up later on. The number of the year in Arabic words cannot be written at once by a Parsee without a reference to books. This seems to be the cause of this gap.

[2] The 8th Arabic month.

[3] Same as Peshôtan.

[4] ارویسگاہ *arwisgâh* is the place where the Parsee priests perform the ceremony of Yaçna, Vendidâd, &c. The writer seems to have taken his surname from this word, because perhaps he belonged to the class of priests who performed those ceremonies. It is not all the priests who perform these ceremonies. He seems to have taken this surname just as others even nowadays take their surnames, such as Mobedji or Dastur from their work or profession. I find from a manuscript Persian book (*vide* colophon of the tract چند ابیات درباب رحمت گوید) on miscellaneous subjects belonging to Mr. M. R. Unwala written in 1012 Yazdazardi that Arvisgâhân was used as a surname. In this manuscript, the writer gives his name as هربد زاده هربد جمشید پن مهرنوش لقب ارویسگاهان The manuscript begins with Persian couplets under the heading

اندر گفت سي وسه امشاسفند

[5] The 8th lunar mansion.

[6] Polar junction.

[7] *Karana* "is a division of the day in astrology. These *Karanas* are eleven."

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

[1] . . . As this soul-reviving book is rare in the cities of India, etc., one has seen very little of it, and as (even) the people of Tâtâr and Khatâ have not smelt the perfume of this heart-ravishing musky veil, (and) as nobody got it or acquired it in most of the great cities and towns, but it was seen in the library of His Majesty the noble king,[2] . . . . . the splendour of the country and of religion Mahomed Akbar Bâdshâh Gazi, the exalted of the great God, of the everlasting royalty, and as the desire of having this rare book was dear to the heart of a great man possessing generosity . . .[2] clothed [3] with happiness, glorious among the people of Pars (the Parsees), *viz.*, Noshirwan,[4] the son of Baman Shâh, a Parsee innabitant of the town of Naosari, who was (a man) of excellent glory,[5] and unlimited[6] innate power,[7] he ordered[8] it to be written. So according to his order, his obedient servant[9] Kaikobâd bin Mahiyâr, Parsee, tying the belt of service strongly on the waist of his life, tried his best and endeavoured a good deal, so that from the copy of the abovesaid rare manuscript eaten by worms (lit. torn by moth *matta* متّه) he wrote a copy correctly.[10] And from that copy

[1] A portion of the page being spoilt, a word here is not legible.

[2] The portions omitted are in the praise of the book and of the king and they do not give any further particulars about the history of the manuscript.

[3] دثار upper garment.

[4] He seems to be the great grandson of the well-known Châng âshâh of Naosari. His father is called Bahman Shâh. Shâh seems to be the appellation or title of honour by which his father Mânock and his grandfather Châng â were known as Mânock Shâh and Châng â Shâh. Shâh is a common term of respect. They say it is even now used in Afghanistân. Among the Bhâtiâs, a sect of the Hindus, it is generally used before a name in place of 'Mr.' It appears that this family took an interest in the ancient literature of their fatherland. We learn from the Parsee Prakâsh (Vol. I., p. 7) that Bahaman Mânock, the father of this Noshirwan and Mânock Châng â his grandfather, had got the Virâf-nameh rendered into Persian verse by one Kâus Fariborz bin Nowroz from Yezd.

[5] طول excellent, long, and عمرة crown, tiara.

[6] فوق الحد *fauqu 'l-hadd*, beyond measure.

[7] زاد born and قدرة power, strength.

[8] ارزانی فرمودن to order, اشارت sign, signal.

[9] اقل least, عباد *ibâd*, servant, holyman, devotee.

[10] سمت Finding the right way.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Khajagi Hapu — may God pardon[1] him — got a copy made by the hand of Abdul Rahmân in the *paragnah* of Hansôt.[2] Then[3] the book having come into the hand of Mirzâ bin Mirza Mahammad Zamân, this book was written from that manuscript by the hand of Peshutan for himself.

It appears from the colophon of this old Persian manuscript that Kaikobad, the son of Dastur Meherji Rana, had taken a copy of this book from the library of king Akbar. It is said that laudatory poems were composed by Kaikobâd in honour of Jehangier and Prince Khurram (afterwards Shâh-Jehan), and that he had visited the Mogul Court in the time of Jehangier also. Anyhow this old manuscript shows that Kaikobâd was versed in Persian, and that he also had visited the Court of Akbar later on.

From the different documents, manuscripts and books that we have produced as evidence in this paper, we have prepared the following chronological table about the different events of Dastur Meherji Rana's life :—

Date.				EVENTS.
A.D.	Yazda-jardi.	Samvat.	Hijri.	
1553	923	.....	.....	In the Revâyet, known as Kâus Kâmdin's Revâyet, Dastur Meherji Rana's name is mentioned first in the address (*vide* p. 64 of this paper).
1566	.....	1622	.....	In an agreement about the proper performance of religious ceremonies, his signature stands first (*vide* p. 62).
1570	.....	1626	.....	In an agreement to abstain from the drink of *toddy*, while engaged in certain rituals, he signs first (*vide* pp. 62-33).
1570	.....	.....	.....	In a letter from Persia brought by Faredun Murzban, and given in the Revâyet his name is mentioned first (*vide* pp. 63-64).

[1] lit. May God be contented (razi) with his faults (عفت)

[2] A town near Broach.

[3] بس for پس

Date.				EVENTS.
A.D.	Yazdajardi.	Samvat.	Hijri.	
1573	.....	1629	.....	By an agreement by the laymen of Naosari, land in a place known as Pipalia-wadi, is given to him as the head of the community for religious purposes (*vide* p. 63).
1578	.....	.....	986	Badaoni mentions under the events of this year, the event of the coming of the Naosari priests to the court of Akbar. He mentions this event in this year as a past event, so he must have gone there either this year or the year before (*vide* pp. 9-12).
1579	.....	1635	.....	The date of the first document of the Naosari priests in which they speak of him as their head (*vide* p. 46).
1580	.....	1636	.....	The date of the second document to the same effect (*vide* p. 46).
1590	.....	1646	.....	The date of a letter to Diu, wherein he is referred to as the head (*vide* p. 48).
1591	960	.....	.....	Death.

From the different documents, manuscripts and books that we have produced as evidence in this paper, to show that Meherji Rana's family was a well-known family, we have prepared the following chronological table about the different events of the life of Rana Jesang, the father of Dastur Meherji Rana:—

Date.				EVENTS.
A. D.	Yazdajardi.	Samvat.	Hijri.	
1504	873	1560	.....	Rana Jesang wrote the manuscript of Pazend Jamaspi (*vide* p. 169).
1520	.....	1576	.....	He was given a piece of land by the laymen of Naosari for religious purposes (*vide* pp. 65-66 of this paper).
1527	896	.....	.....	The date of Shapur Asa's Revayet, in which Rana Jesang is addressed first (*vide* pp. 66-68 of this paper).
1546	915	1602	955	The date of his manuscript of the Persian Bahman-nâmeh (*vide* p. 170).

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Chronological List of Events in the life of Dastur Kaikobad, the son of Dastur Meherji Rana.

A.D.	Yazdajardi.	Samvat.	Hijri.	
1565-66	.....	1622	.....	Signs with his father and other priests the document for the proper performance of religious ceremonies, wherein his father signs at the top (*vide* pp. 151-52).
1570	.....	1626	.....	Signs with his father an agreement to abstain from *toddy* while engaged in the Âtash Behrâm and other ceremonies.
1580	.....	1636	.....	Signs with other priests the second document, acknowledging his father Dastur Meherji Rana as the head of the priesthood (*vide* pp. 149-50).
1591	.....	.....	.....	He came to Dasturship on his father's death.
1595	.....	.....	1003	Akbar's first farmân in his name (*vide* p. 95).
.....	.....	.....	1005	The محضر *mahzar* for inquiry. Hijri 1005 (*vide* p. 141).
1603	.....	.....	1011	The second farmân (*vide* p. 121).
1603	.....	.....	1012	The Parwanchah (*vide* p. 134).
2910-1619	12-12-988	.....	.....	Death.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NOTES OF ANQUETIL DU PERRON (1755-61) ON KING AKBAR AND DASTUR MEHERJI RÂNÂ.

(Read on 13th July 1903.)

I beg to submit this paper as a supplement to my paper on "The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rânâ" read before our Society on 19th December 1901 and published as Article VIII. in No. LVIII, Vol. XXI, of the Journal of the Society (pp. 69-245).

In March 1903 I received from Paris from Miss Menant, who had come to Bombay in 1900-1901 on a scientific mission from the Government of France to study Parseeism, among other papers, a paper marked as "Important" and with the word "Meherji Rânâ" written on it in red pencil. In it she said:—

J'ai trouvé en feuilletant à la Bibliothèque Nle les fameux papiers d'Anquetil (nº. 18) deux passages curieux que voici. (L' écriture est si mauvaise, l' orthographe si étrange, de plus les lignes sont tellenen enchevêtrées que n'ayant pas de loupe , j ' ai en quelque peine à les déchiffrer.[1])

A hasty perusal of the passages, as she wrote them, showed, that a careful copy would throw great light upon the subject of "Akbar and Meherji Rânâ."

So I wrote to her on 10th March, requesting her to send me a fair, clearly-written copy of these notes again, and also an English translation of these notes as understood by her. I subsequently requested her to send me a photograph of the notes.

In compliance with my request she has kindly sent me a photograph of the whole page, containing the passages about Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rânâ. I beg to place that photograph on the table for the inspection of members present. According to Miss Menant,

[1] *i.e.*, "In turning over the famous papers of Anquetil (No. 18) at the National Library, I have found two curious passages which are as follow:— (The writing is so bad, the orthography so strange, and most of the lines are entangled in such a way, that not having a magnifying glass, I had much trouble in deciphering them.)"

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the photograph was taken at the studio of the National Library of Paris on Tuesday, the 31st of March 1903 (faite à l'atelier de la Bibliothèque Nationale, à Paris, le Mardi 31 Mars 1903)[1].

In a note sent with the photograph she says:—"J'ai trouvé la note par hasard en feuilletant les brouillons d'Anquetil pour revoir ce qui touchait à Surate, lorsque tout à coup ce passage m'a sauté aux yeux."[2]

I give here in full what Miss Menant says about this note of Anquetil and about the points which strike her.

"Cette page photographiée provient de la Bibliothèque Nationale, du recueil des mss. d'Anquetil Duperron catalogués ainsi qu'il suit: LXXIX. Nelles Acquisitions françaises. 8,874. Mélanges sur les Parsis vol. en 4° de 63 pages.

Le page $\frac{8}{10}$ contient les sujets les plus différents. C'est à partir de: le Mogol Akbar . . . . . que commence la citation qui nous occupe. Vous pouvez voir aussi—au bas de la page—une remarque sur les mariages des Parsis avec les étrangères qui n'a rien à faire avec Akbar. Souvenez-vous que ce sont de simples notes de voyage recueillies hâtivement.

Toutefois, vu la parfaite bonne foi d'Anquetil, méditez chaque mot.

J'appelle vôtre attention:

1°. Sur l'orthographe de Merji Rânâ—elle est très bizarre—mail il n'y a pas lieu de douter de l'identité du personnage.

2°. Que M. R. (Merji Rânâ) a été le seul qui pût *expliquer la loi*.

3°. Que c'est d'après son avis qu' Akbar envoya demander à Shah Abbas un dastour du Kerman.

(L' histoire des vers est obscure. . . . .)

4°. Qu'est ce que ce Dastour Schapour-fils de Kekobad?

Les noms de localités ne soulèvent aucun doute. Nausari (Nauçary) est bien lisible. Mais qu'est ce que Kakri-Kari à 1 f ½ de Surate? Je n'ai rien trouvé dans le Gazetteer.

Ce que je sais c'est que Akbar mit le siége devant Surate le 19 Janvier 1573—le fort ne se rendit qu 'au bout de six semaines. Où etait le camp de l'Empereur?

---

[1] Miss Menant's note on the copy made from the photograph.

[2] *i. e.*, "I found the note by chance on turning over the rough note-book of Anquetil to look for what referred to Surat, when suddenly this passage caught my eyes."

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Il est certain que pendant ces six semaines Akbar eut le temps de voir les Parsis et de faire connaissance avec Meherji Rânâ qui habitait une localité si proche voisine." [1]

I give at the end the passages in full, as read and translated by Miss Menant, giving my few suggestions or ammendations as foot-notes.

Now let us see what points in my previous paper, referred to above, are corroborated by this new find of Anquetil's notes, and what new light is thrown on some of the questions in that paper. In my above paper I tried to prove the following points :—

1. That Ardeshir, who is spoken of by the Dabistân, written long after Akbar's time, as having come to Akbar's Court, had come to India, long after the religious discussions were closed, and long

---

[1] Translation.—This photographed page comes from the National Library, from the collection of manuscripts of Anquetil Duperron catalogued as follows:—LXXIX. Nelles French Acquisitions 8,874. Miscellaneous over the Parsees, volume in quarto of 63 pages.

Le page $\frac{8}{10}$ contains most different subjects. It is from (the words) " Le Mogul Akbar," that the quotation with which we have to deal, commences. You can see also at the end of the page, a remark over the marriages of the Parsis with foreigners, which has nothing to do with Akbar. Remember that these are the simple notes of a traveller collected hastily. Nevertheless, considering the perfect good faith of Anquetil, consider well each word.

I call your attention to (the following) :—

1. To the spelling (of the name) of Meherji Rânâ. It is very odd. But there is no room to doubt the identity of the person.

2. That Meherji Rânâ has been the only person who could *explain the Faith.*

3. That it is on his advice that Akbar sent to ask for, from Shah Abbas, a Dastur from Kerman. (The story of the verse is obscure . . . .)

4. Who is this Dastur Shapour, son of Kekobad ?

The names of the localities do not raise any doubt. Nausari (Nauçary) is very legible. But what is this Kakri-kari at 1½ f. (furlong) from Surat ? I have found nothing (about it) in the Gazetteer.

What I know is this, that Abkar laid siege to Surat on 19th January 1573. The fort did not surrender, but at the end of six weeks. Where was the camp of the Emperor ?

It is certain, that during these six weeks, Akbar had the time to see the Parsis and to make the acquaintance of Meherji Rânâ, who lived at a place in such a close vicinity.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

after Akbar had adopted the visible forms of Zoroastrian worship, and Zoroastrian Calendar and festivals, and so he had no hand in influencing Akbar towards these things.

2. That Ardeshir had specially come for the purpose of the dictionary, known as Farhang-i-Jehangiri, and not for the purpose of taking part in the religious discussions at the court, and not for the purpose of explaining to the king, the religion of Zoroaster.

3. That it was the Naosari Parsees, who had attended the Court of Akbar to take part in the religious discussions, which took place there in 1576-79.

4. That Dastur Meherji Râná was a leading Parsee of Naosari, and that as such, he headed the party from Naosari.

5. That he explained the Zoroastrian religion to king Akbar.

6. That if king Akbar put on the *sudreh* and *kusti* (*i.e.*, the sacred shirt and thread), as referred to in some of the songs, which spoke of Dastur Meherji Râná's visit to the Court of Akbar, there is nothing to be wondered at, especially as he had put on the sacred symbols of other religions, such as Hinduism and Christianity.

Now let us examine, how far the above points, which I have tried to prove in my former paper, with the help of old documents and manuscripts, are supported by the manuscript notes of Anquetil, which record the tradition he had heard during the period of his visit to India and his stay at Surat from 1755 to 1761, *i.e.*, about 150 years ago. In my first paper, I rested upon the authority of a book by a Parsee Dastur written in about 1765 A.D., which said that Dastur Meherji Râná had gone to the court of king Akbar and had explained to him the Zoroastrian religion.[1] Now this discovery of Anquetil's manuscript notes, enables me to place before the Society, the authority of a French author of great eminence, who had specially come to study Parseeism in its home. Anquetil left India in 1761 A.D., so these manuscript notes must have been jotted down in this volume, which formed his notebook, some time before that year. So we have now the authority of a writer who wrote at least four years before Dastur Shapurji, the Parsee author.

We will examine Anquetil's notes in the order in which we find them, and see how they support the conclusions I have arrived

---

[1] Journal B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XXI, No. LVIII, p. 114.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

at, in my first paper. I will give the notes as translated by Miss Menant. The first passage of the notes refers to the Farhang-i-Jehangiri and Ardeshir. Having found nobody in India, either in his Court or out of his Court, who could help him in the philological work of the dictionary, he sends for a Dastur from Persia.

Anquetil's first important note is on this point, and it runs as follows :—

"The Mogol Akbar finding no Dastur, who had an answer for every thing (sur tout), according to Dastur Meherji Râná's[1] opinion, wrote to Shah Abbas Sophi of Persia to send him one from Kerman. Shah Abbas sent him the Dastur Ardeshir, who began under him the Phar (hang [2]) finished under Djehanguir and which bears his name (Hyde, p. 4, says that it is Ibn Fakeruddin[3] Angjou who wrote it.)"

Now this passage of Anquetil's notes supports the following two facts which I have handled in my previous paper :—

1. That Ardeshir was sent for helping Jamaluddin in the work of writing his dictionary, known as Farhang-i-Jehangiri, and not for explaining to king Akbar the religion of Zoroaster.

---

[1] Miss Menant considers Anquetil's spelling of the name of Meherji Râná as odd (bizarre). It is difficult to determine how Anquetil has spelt the name, but I think Anquetil has written the name as "Meheriâr fils de Râná," *i.e.*, Meheriar, son of Râná, which was the Persian form in which some names of Parsees were usually written in former times, *e. g.*, Darab bin Rustam, *i.e.*, Dârab, the son of Rustam. For a number of illustrations of this kind, *vide* my first paper (Journal B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXI., No. LVIII, p. 237). Meherji Râná's name occurs again a little lower down (*l.* 22 of the photographed page), where the form I have suggested appears more distinct. At least the word "fils" appears to me to be clear in the name in both the places. *Vide* Anquetil's Le Zend Avesta Tome I., Part 2, Notices, p. XXVI, where he gives the name of a Dastur as "Darab fils d'Ormuzd." *Vide* also Tome II., pp. 52-53.

[2] In the photo we read as far as "pharhá." The last two letters seem to have been torn out in the margin.

[3] This person was "Mir Jamâluddin Husain an Inju Sayyid" (Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann's translation, Vol. I., p. 450. عبدرجمال الدّین حسین از سادات انجو Blochmann's Text I, p. 226, column 2, l. 4). He was the author of Farhang-i-Jehangiri. Hyde by calling him Ibn Fakeruddin (*i.e.*, the son of Fakeruddin) seems to call him perhaps by his father's name. He is called Angjou or Inju, because he belonged to a family of that name.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

2. That Ardeshir came long after the discussions of the Ibâdat Khâneh in 1576-79, and long after Akbar adopted the visible forms of Zoroastrian worship.

We will dwell upon these facts at some length.

1. I have handled the first fact at great length in my previous paper (Journal B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXI, No. LVIII, pp. 85 to 93), and that on the very authority of Mir Jamaluddin, the author of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri, and therein shown that Ardeshir had come for the purpose of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri. Anquetil's notes support this fact. Not only that, but Anquetil tells us an altogether new thing, which we had not known from any other source. It is this, that it was at the suggestion of Dastur Meherji Râná himself, that king Akbar wrote to Persia, to get a competent man from there, who could help in the work of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri. King Akbar wrote accordingly, and Ardeshir was sent to him for the purpose.

To understand this passage clearly, we must read the words of king Akbar as given by Mir Jamaluddin in the preface of his Farhang-i-Jehangiri. Akbar said: "Since the time the Arabs had the hand of authority in the country of Persia, the Persian language having been mixed with Arabic words, most of the Parsi and Dari and Pahlavi words have become obsolete, nay, have disappeared altogether. So the explanation of the books, which have been written in old Persian languages, and the meaning of the poems, which poets of old times have adorned with ornaments of poetry, have remained concealed and hidden under the curtain of concealment and the veil of privacy. Therefore, before this time, I had ordered some of the members of this court, which protect learned men, to prepare a book containing all the old Persian words and phrases. Nobody could perform the work as it should be. It is necessary that in this noble branch of learning, you should prepare a book of good fame and sublime name, so that in consequence of its always being united with my good fortune, its effect may remain permanently on the pages of time for day and night (*i.e.*, the book may be connected with my name and prove useful for ever)." (Journal B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXI, No. LVIII, pp. 87-88).

This long statement of Akbar and Anquetil's notes show that the king was long anxious to get written "a book containing all the old Persian words and phrases." He had ordered the learned scholars of his court to prepare a book of that kind, but had failed. No

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

learned scholars of his Court could do that work well. He had thought that the Parsee Dasturs might possibly help him in that philological work, but he found that there was, to use the words of Anquetil, "no Dastur who had an answer for everything." He found that they also could not explain all the old obsolete words in the old Persian literature required to be explained in the Dictionary. Dastur Meherji Râná, whose acquaintance he had at first made while at Surat, as we will see later on, had advised him to send for a Dastur from Kerman. So, latterly, when he heard that Mir Jamaluddin had made that kind of study his speciality, he encouraged him and ordered the dictionary to be written. To assist him in that subject, *viz.*, in that of explaining all old Persian obsolete words, &c., he sought to get literary help from all quarters. He then remembered the advice which Dastur Meherji Rana had given him, some years before, and wrote to the then Shah of Persia, Shah Abbas. In response to this requisition, Shah Abbas sent him Ardeshir. Anquetil seems to be very careful in jotting down notes of what he heard and learnt. In this case, the fact of Ardeshir's assisting Jamaluddin in his work of Farhang-i-Jehangiri, seems to have been misstated or misunderstood, as that of his writing the whole of the dictionary. So he puts down in brackets what Hyde said about it. The author Hyde referred to by Anquetil is Thomas Hyde, Professor of Hebrew languages in the University of Oxford, and his book, to the fourth page of which a reference is given by Anquetil, is the "Veterum Persarum et Parthorum et Medorum Religionis Historia." On the fourth page of the first edition of his book, published in 1700 A.D., and of the second edition, published in 1760, we find the following words on the subject:

Quòd Persæ olim fuerint Sabaitæ, seu Sabii fidem facit Ibn Phacreddin Angjou Persa in Libro Pharhangh Gjihânghîri de Persis Shemi proneptibus loquens in Procemio fuo . . . .

A friend has kindly translated the passage thus for me: "Because the Persians were formerly Sabaitæ or Sabii, Ibn Phacreddin Angjou, the Persian, in his book Pharhangh Gjihânghiri about the Persian descendants of Shemus, speaking in his preface, believes. . . .

2. Now as to the second fact of the date of Ardeshir's arrival at the Court of Akbar, I have shown on the authority of the preface of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri, that Ardeshir could not have come to the Court at the time, when the religious discussions at the Ibâdatkhâneh were going on (1576 to 1579), and that he came long

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

after that time, and long after Akbar adopted the visible forms of Zoroastrian worship (Journal B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXI., No. LVIII., pp. 92-93). Now this fact is corroborated by the above passage of Anquetil's notes. We learn from it—and this is a new fact that we learn here—that the Shah of Persia, to whom Akbar wrote on the matter, was Shah Abbas Sophie. This Shah Abbas Sophie was the well-known King of Persia, known as Abbas the Great. He was called Safawi, because he belonged to the Suffavean dynasty founded by Shah Ismail. The dynasty took its name from one Shaikh Suffee-u-deen.[1] He came to throne in 1585 at the young age of eighteen. According to Markham,[2] "On the death of his wicked uncle, Ismail, in 1577, the incapable father[3] was set aside after a few years, and young Abbas was proclaimed Shah of Persia by the nobles of Khurâsân at Nîshâpûr. In the year 1585 he found himself in peaceable possession of the whole of Persia."

So it is quite clear, that Ardeshir could not have come to India before 1585 when Shah Abbas Çafawi came to throne. And we know that by that time the religious discussions at the Court were over, and Akbar had already adopted the visible forms of Parsee worship, etc. We must remember, that, if it was in 1585 that Shah Abbas came to the throne — and at that time he was only a lad of eighteen — some time must have taken for the news to come to India and for the young prince to be sufficiently established in power and influence, so as to carry on correspondence with a great king like Akbar. So the date, 1592 A.D., we have arrived at, as that of his arrival, on the authority of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri, is correct. Anyhow he came after 1585 A. D., *i. e.*, long after the discussions at the Ibâdatkhâneh were over and long after Akbar adopted the visible forms of Parsee worship, etc.

Now we come to the second passage of Anquetil's notes, which supports the next three points, referred to above, as proved in my previous paper. It runs as follows as translated by Miss Menant :—

"The Mogul Akbar, Djahanguir's father, came to Kakrikari, one f. and a half from Surat one hundred and fifty years (ago) or more.

---

[1] Malcolm's History of Persia, Vol. I. (1829), p. 320.

[2] A general sketch of the History of Persia by C. R. Markham (1874), p. 273. *Vide* also Encyclopædia Brittanica, I., p. 8 ; XVIII., p. 637.

[3] Muhammad Mirza, the eldest son of Tahmasp,

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

He was curious to know the religion of the Parsees. He found only the Dastur Meherji Rana of Nausari who was able to explain the law [1] to him."

This passage is very important. It very clearly says that Dastur Meherji Râná explained to him the Zoroastrian religion. Anquetil herein says the same thing of Meherji Râná, that is said of him about five years later, by Dastur Shapurjee Sanjâná in his work, as said above. But another important thing in this passage is this, that it shows that it was at the time when Akbar came to Surat that he first made the acquaintance of the learned Dastur and learnt from him the principles of the Zoroastrian religion. The place Kakri-kari, referred to in the passage as being one f. (furlong ?) and a half from Surat, and as the place up to which Akbar had come, is even now known as કાંકરા ખારી Kankrâ Khâri.

Narmadâshankar Lâlshankar, a well known poet of Gujrat, in his short Gujarati history of Surat[2] says that Akbar pitched his camp near Gopipurâ in Surat. Mr. Edalji Burjorjee Patel in his history of Surat[3] says that he had pitched his camp on the banks of the Gopitalâo, just where stand, at present, the suburbs of Salâbatpurâ and Rustampurâ.

Now Kankrâ Khâri, to which, according to Anquetil, Akbar had come, and which, therefore, must be his place of camp, is situated just close to the above places of Gopipurâ, Salâbatpurâ and Rustampurâ, which, the above authors, who are residents of Surat, say—perhaps on the authority of old traditions—were the camping places of Akbar. While camping there, he may have seen many Parsees of Surat and liked to know something about their religion. He met no Dastur there capable of explaining to him the religion, and so had to send for one from the neighbouring town of Naosari. Dastur Meherji Râná, who was the head priest of the town, then explained to him the religion. Being favourably impressed with the knowledge of Dastur Meherji Râná, it is quite natural that, when later on he held religious discussions at the Ibâdat-khâneh, he sent for him from Naosari. It

---

[1] *i.e.*, the Zoroastrian law.

[2] સુરતની સુખતેસર હકીકત (૧૮૬૬) પા. ૧૫ "અકબરે ૧૫૭૩ ની ૧૯ મી જાનેવારીએ સુરતમાં ગોપીપરા આગલ ડેરા તંબુ તાણ્યા."

[3] "સુરતની તવારીખ" (૧૮૮૦) પા. ૨૦ "અકબર બાદશાહ તા૦ ૧૯ મી જાનેવારી ૧૫૭૩ ને દિવસે સુરત આગળ આવ્યો. તે આરે લશ્કર લઈ આવ્યો હતો, અને તેના ડેરા તંબુઓ ગોપીતળાવને કાંઠે (જ્યાં હમણાં સલાબત પરે તથા રૂસતમ પરે છે ત્યાં) તાણ્યા હતા."

was for this reason then, that we find that, according to Badaoni and the author of the Dabistân, the Naosari Parsees were sent for, to attend the Court later on, for the religious discussions. Anquetil's notes then support the fact, that it was Dastur Meherji Râná, who explained to Akbar the religion of Zoroaster, and that it was the Naosari Parsees who took a part in the religious discussions at the Ibâdat-khâneh. Having been thus introduced to this Dastur, and knowing him as the proper person to advise on the subject of the dictionary, over which, according to the above passage in the preface of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri, he had set his heart, he had consulted him, and the Dastur had advised him to send for a learned Zoroastrian from Persia, who inhabiting, as he did, the mother country, was more likely to be versed with the old forms of ancient and obsolete Persian, Dari and other words. This advice, the king acted upon, when later on, he found, in Mir Jamâluddin, a person capable to undertake the work of the Dictionary.

The Tabakât-i-Akbari gives the following date for the conquest of Surat, referred to above.

و این فتح عظیم بتاریخ الثالث و عشرین من شوال سنه ثمانین و تسعمائه سمت ظهور یافته[1]

i.e., "this conquest was effected on the 23rd Shawwâl in the year 980."[2]

Now the fact, recorded by Anquetil, that Akbar made the first acquaintance of Dastur Meherji Râná, and learnt the principles of Zoroastrian religion from him, when at Surat—though it is new as far as other writers are concerned—has been recorded in a set of verses addressed by Kaikobâd, the son of Dastur Meherji Râná, to Jehangir, the son of Akbar.

I beg to produce before the Society, a copy of the Persian verses. It says, that it itself is a copy from an older copy. Of course, in such a case, the production of the first original in Dastur Kaikobâd's own handwriting, is out of the question, as it had gone to the Court of the Emperor. I am indebted to Prof. S. H. Hodiwala for this copy.

We read the following lines in these verses addressed to Jehangir. Portions of the paper of the copy, which has come to my hands, have been torn off.

[1] Munshi Nawal Keshore's lithographed edition of 1875. A.D., p. 298, l. 18

[2] Elliot's (Dawson) History of India, Vol. V., p. 350. This is about 1573 A.D. Elphinstone's History of India, 5th edition, p. 508.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

التماس نمایم باپستادگان ∴ بپای سریر شه آزادگان
که در خاطرت پاک روشن روان ∴ که آید حقیقت از این ناتوان
حقیقت چنانست شه نیکبخت ∴ کنم عرض خود پیش خداوند تخت
که چون شاه اکبر عرش آستان ∴ نمود عزم سورت شه راستان
که تشریف مبارک بسورت چون شاه ∴ ارزانی فرمودند عالم پناه
چهل و هشت سنه شد که در آن زمان ∴ گرفتند سورت شه کامران
مرا نیک پدر بود ماهیار نام ∴ ملازمت او کرد شه نیک نام
,, ,, بدرگاه شاه زمین ∴ که سجده نمود و بکرد آفرین
,, ,, ش برو کرد شاه ∴ بپرسید بسیار از دین و راه
در رکاب سعادت ∴ به آگره بیاورد شه کامگار
گرچه که او بود پیر ناتوان ∴ که در پای تختگه شد چون جوان

Translation.—I submit a request to the stable (power of His Majesty), to the foot of the throne of the king of the nobles, so that the case of this powerless person (*i. e.*, my poor self) may come into the consideration of your pious enlightened soul. O fortunate king! the fact, which I myself beg to submit before the throne of your Majesty, is this: that when King Akbar nestling at the foot of the Divine Throne,[1] the king of the virtuous, proposed coming to Surat, when (he) the protector of the world bestowed the favour of a visit to Surat — it is 48 years since that time, when the king, whose all desires are fulfilled, took Surat,—my good father, Mâhiâr was living. He served His glorious Majesty. He . . . . to the Court of the king of the world. He paid his respects and blessed him. . . . . He asked him much about religion and customs. In the happy attendance[2]. . . . . the fortunate king brought him to Agra. Although he was a weak old man, at the foot of (His Majesty's) throne, he became a young man.

These lines from the verses of Kaikobâd then support Anquetil's statement, that it was at the time of Akbar's visit to Surat, that Dastur Meherji Râná had the honour of seeing His Majesty. The lines add that the king then took him to Agra.

Now the fact that Dastur Kaikobad knew Persian, and could write it, is shown from an old copy of the Dârâb-nâmeh dated 1656 A. D.

---

[1] عرش آشیان is the name given to Akbar after his death.

[2] Lit. the stirrup.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The colophon of that manuscript says[1] that the manuscript was copied from one, which Kaikobâd bin Mâhiyâr had copied from the library of king Akbar. This colophon then also says that this Dastur had an access to the Court of the Mogul Emperor.

The next point in my paper which these notes of Anquetil corroborate is the sixth point, referred to above, *viz.*, that of Akbar putting on the Sudreh and Kusti (the sacred shirt and thread), the visible signs of Zoroastrianism. I have shown at some length in my previous paper, that when Akbar put on the visible signs of other religions, such as Christianity and Brahaminism, it is no wonder if he put on the visible signs of Zoroastrianism, from which he had taken into his new religion several important elements. Anquetil corroborates this conclusion, when he says that "he (Akbar) put on the Kusti and had built a *dakmâ*, because he was curious to know every religion."

Anquetil introduces these remarks by a prefatory remark saying "See in Abu Fazl, concerning Shah Abbas; Akbar was defamed by the Mahommedans." We do not find any direct reference to Shah Abbas in Abu Fazal's writings, but we find him defending his king in his Âin-i-Akbari against the attacks made upon him with regard to the reverence paid by him to Sun and Fire[2].

The last part of the photographed page is not clearly legible, but it means to say that "Shah Abbas wrote to him for that purpose (*i. e.*, for his supposed want of faith), that he had forsaken his old religion and had two religions."

Now there remains to be examined the intervening passage about Dastur Schapour. (*Vide* the text of the notes at the end.) This passage has nothing to do with the subject of Dastur Meherji Râná and Akbar, but it is worth looking into, as it refers to a conversation between him and Dastur Meherje Râná. Who was this Dastur Schapour, who, says Anquetil, was Darab's sixth forefather? Anquetil's own work helps us in this matter. In his translation of the prayer known as Dhoup-Nerang,[3] we find his name thus remembered, "Je rappelle l'ame pure et heureuse du Destour Schapour (fils adoptif) de

---

[1] *Vide* my paper "The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Râná." Journal, B. B. R. A., Vol XXI., No. LVIII, pp. 241-42.

[2] *Vide* the Âin-i-Akbari translated by Blochmann, Vol. I., p. 48. Blochmann's Text I., p. 43, Ain 18th.

[3] Zend Avesta Tome II., p. 53.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

l'Herbad Kekobad "[1]. Then in the footnote in reference to the name of Dastur Schapour, Anquetil says " Darab, dont j'ai pris les leçons à Surate (ci-d Discours prélim no II et III) est le sixiéme descendant en ligne direct de ce Destour, qui était fils de Bahman."[2]

This Dastur Schapour and his adoptive father Kaikobâd belonged to Surat. In the above prayer of Dhoup-Nerang Anquetil also gives the name of a Dastur Ispeniar as that of a brother of Dastur Schapour and son of Bahman. We find the name of this Dastur Aspandyâr Bahman as that of a leading Dastur of Surat in the Revâyet of 1626 A. D., known as Bahman Asfandyâr's Revayet [3] and in that of 1627 A. D. known as that of Bahman Poonjieh of Surat.[4] We find the name of Bahman the father of Dastur Schapour and Dastur Asfandyâr as that of a leading Dastur of Surat (Dastur Bahman bin Faridun) in Kâûs Mâhyâr's[5] Revayet of 1601 A. D.

The references in Anquetil's notes to Dastur Schapour—that he was at first locked up by his father Kaikobad, that he was subsequently released, that he recited some verses before king Akbar and that he was given some land by the king—require elucidation. I have not been able to get any information about this Dastur of Surat. I have come to learn that a known priestly family of Surat, known as the Mirza family had some land given to them by a Mogul king, but the family traditions attribute that gift not to Akbar but to a later king.

The word *gâm* referred to in the conversation between Dastur Schapour and Dastur Meherji Rânâ is the Avesta word *gâma* (P. گام) meaning a step. The Parsees are prohibited from making water in a standing posture, lest the splashing of the urine on the lower part of the leg may cause disease, &c. The Sad-dar treats of this subject. Vide S. B. E. XXIV, p. 317 West. chap. LVI. According to other MSS. this subject forms the 60th chap.

In conclusion, I beg to thank Miss Menant for kindly drawing my attention to Anquetil's manuscript notes and for sending me a photograph of these notes. I also beg to offer my best thanks to the authorities of the Bibliothéque Nationale for kindly giving all facilities for photographing these notes.

[1] *i. e.*, I invoke the pure and happy soul of Dastur Schapour (the adopted son) of Herbad Kaikobad.

[2] *i. e.*, Darab, before whom I took lessons at Surat is the 6th descendant in direct line from this Dastur, who was the son of Bahman.

[3] Bombay University's MS. Revâyet of Dârâb Hormuzdyâr, Vol. I., fol. 69 *a*, l. 9. دستور اسفندیار بهمن

[4] *Ibid* f. 65*a*, l. 12. دستور اسفندیار دستور بهمن *Vide* also Khan Bahadur Bomanjee Byramjee Patel's Parsee Prakâsh I, pp. 12—13.

[5] Parsee Prakâsh I, p. 339.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

APPENDIX.

I give here in full the passages as read by Miss Menant. The footnotes are my own.

The first passage is on the subject of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri for which Ardeshir was sent for from Persia. It is as follows :—

"(1) Le Mogol Akbar ne trouvant pas de Destour qui lui répondit sur tout, de l'avis du Destour Mehernaj . . (?) de nan[1] écrivit à Schah Abbas, sophi de Perse, de lui en envoyer un de Kerman. . . . Chah Abas lui envoya le Destour Ardeschir qui commença sous lui le pharh (ang)[2] fini sous Djehanguir et qui en porte le nom. (Hyde, p. 4, dit que c'est Ibn-Fakeruddin Angjou qui l'a rédigé.)"

The second passage is on the subject of Dastur Meherji Rânâ explaining the religion to Akbar. It is as follows :—

(2) " Le Mogol Akbar, père de Djahanguir, est venu à Kakrikari, une f½ de Surate, il y a 150 ans ou plus, il était curieux . . . voulut savoir la religion des parsses ; il ne trouva[3] que le Destour Mehernuj de nan[4] (de Nauçary) qui pût lui expliquer la loi. Ce fut lui qui en voyant pisser le Destour Schapour destour[5] [qui avait été enfermé par son père Kekbad de peur qu'il n'alla réciter 60[6] vers à l'honneur de Akbar et ne pût pas répondre à ses questions, ensuite ayant été délivré il alla les rèciter à Akbar qui lui donna des terres á Nauçary.[7]] le 6e ayeul de Darab lui dit que la loi ordon(nait) de pisser à un *gam*, auquel le destour dit que c'était bon pour le Kerman, terre sablonneuse, mais dans une terre ferme comme l'Inde, il fallait pisser plus loin de peur de se salir par le pissat rejailli. Le Destour admira sa sagesse, lui prédit qu'il mourrait. Cinq ans après le Destour Schapour mourut.

(On ne peut absolument épouser une étrangère avant qu'elle se soit déclarée parssi (e) et mis le *sadderé*).

Voy[8]. dans Abulfazel au sujet de Schah Abas. Akbar fut diffamé par les Mahométans ; il mettait le Kosti et avait construit un dak-

---

[1] *Vide* above p. 182 n. 1.

[2] The word pharhang is clear. The last three or rather two and-a-half letters have disappeared in the margin. Half the letter "a" appears in the photo.

[3] The words seem to be "il ne se trouva."

[4] *Vide* above p. 182 n. 1.

[5] Miss Menant in her first letter, says of this part : " Ici une étrange parenthèse qui s'interrompt."

[6] I do not think the word is 60. It is rather 'de.' I would translate the passage thus : " And recite some verses."

[7] Miss Menant in her first letter says : " Ici l' étrange parenthése reprend."

[8] Voyez.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

(ma ?), parce qu'il était curieux de savoir toutes les religions. Schah Abas lui écrivit à ce sujet que le rest ? . . . . et ? ferengui [1] avait abandonné la [2] . . . . et avait deux religions. . . . . "

Translation by Miss Menant.

(The first passage on the Farhang-i-Jehangiri and Ardeshir.)

"The Mogol Akbar finding no Dastur, who had an answer for everything, according to the Dastur Meherji Râná's opinion,[3] wrote to Shah Abbas Sophi of Persia to send him one from Kerman.

"Shah Abbas sent him the Dastur Ardeshir who began under him the Pharh-(hang) finished under Djehanguir and which bears his name. (Hyde, p. 4, says that it is Ibn Fakerruddin Angjou who wrote it.)"

(The second passage on Dastur Meherji Râná explaining the religion to Akbar.)

"The Mogol Akbar, Djehanguir's father, came to Kakrikari, one f. (furlong) and a half from Surat, one hundred and fifty years [4] or more. He was curious[5] to know the religion of the Parsis. He found only the Dastur Meher[6]. . . (of Nausari) who was able to explain the law[7] to him. He was the one who seeing Dastur Schapour making water [who[8] (Dastur Schapour) had been locked up by his father Kekobad lest he should go and recite 60 lines of poetry (verse) in honour of Akbar and not be able to answer his (Akbar's) questions ; afterwards having been released, he went and recited them to Akbar, who gave him lands at Nauçary][9] Darab's 6th forefather[10] told him that the law enjoined to make water at a *gâm*, to whom the Dastur said that it was right for Kerman, a sandy land, but that in a dry land like India, it was necessary to make water farther in order to avoid

---

[1] Miss Menant says of this part that it is "Illisible (illegible)."

[2] Miss Menant adds "illisible, écrit sur la marge."

[3] "de l'avis du Meher. . . ." *i. e.*, on the advice of Meherji Râná.

[4] *i. e.*, 150 years ago.

[5] Add after this "and wished to" omitted to be translated.

[6] Meheriâr, the son of Râná, *vide* above p. 182 n. 1.

[7] *i. e.*, the religion of the Parsees.

[8] Miss Menant says. Here a strange parenthesis intervenes.

[9] Here the parenthesis closes.

[10] This refers to Dastur Schapour. The proper translation would be—

"It was he, who, seeing Dastur Schapour, the 6th ancestor of Darab making water, told him, &c.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

pollution (lest you should be polluted) by the splashing of the urine. The Dastur admired his wisdom, foretold him his death. Five years after the Dastur Schapour died.

[1] (It is absolutely impossible to marry a foreign wife before she has confessed herself a Parsi and put on the *sadderê*.)

See in Abu Fazl, concerning Shah Abbas. Akbar was defamed by the Mohammædans. He put on the Kusti and had built a *dak* (*ma*)[2], because he was curious to know every religion.

Shah Abbas wrote to him for that purpose that? . . . . . had forsaken. . . .[3] and had two religions[4]. . . . . "

[1] This passage has nothing to do with the subject.

[2] Tower of Silence.

[3] Miss Menant says about the word that it is "impossible to read even with a magnifying glass."

[4] Miss Menant says of her translation that she has submitted it to Miss Williams, Professor of English, at the Sorbonne, and she has found it correct. She says: "je joins á l'épreuve une copie en français que j'ai faite à la loupe, et ma traduction anglaise que j'ai soumise á Miss Williams, professeur d' Anglais à le Sorbonne et membre de l'Ed. Bd. á Londres. Elle la trouvé bonne."

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Digitized with financial assistance from

on 16 November, 2018

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA